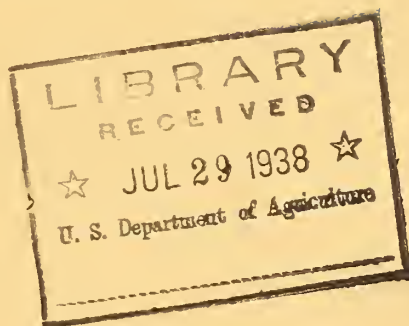


Historic, archived document

Do not assume content reflects current scientific knowledge, policies, or practices.

1.95
50
110.5

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
AND
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
COOPERATING



Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project -
Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation
Project, Oregon-California

BY MARIE JASNY

SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. V

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 1938

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et. al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I. INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter II. BACKGROUND AND SELECTION PROCEDURE	3
Location and Economic Conditions	3
Family Selection Method of the Bureau of Reclamation	5
Family Selection for the Tule Lake Division in 1927	9
Chapter III. RELATION BETWEEN THE INITIAL RATINGS AND LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLERS	12
Initial Ratings as Related to the Demonstrated Quality of the Settlers	13
Initial Ratings as Related to Later Stability of the Settlers	26
Chapter IV. VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS AS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLERS	30
Chapter V. REASONS FOR INSTABILITY ON THE PROJECT	35
Background Factors of General Importance	36
Individual Reasons for Sales of Homesteads	42
Individual Reasons for Habitual Leasing	49
Chapter VI. REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THOSE WHO REMAIN	51
Chapter VII. RELATION BETWEEN REASONS FOR INSTABILITY AND CRITERIA APPLIED IN SELECTION	56
Chapter VIII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS	62
Appendix. SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES	67
METHODOLOGICAL NOTE	78
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS	81

Acknowledgment is made of collaboration in planning and in completing this study by members of the Bureau of Reclamation, U. S. Department of the Interior - especially to George O. Sanford, Director of Division of Operation and Maintenance, in Washington; to B. E. Hayden, Project Superintendent, W. L. Tingley, Chief Clerk, and E. L. Stevens, Associate Engineer, all of the Klamath Falls project; to C. A. Henderson, County Agent, Klamath Falls; and to W. F. Fruits, banker, in Merrill, Oregon. Thanks are due, moreover, to many of the interviewed families for their co-operation.

FOREWORD

This is the second report of this series on family selection, the first being Social Research Report No. I, An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt. Information presented in the first report was obtained largely from secondary sources. The information contained in this report was gathered by the author in a field study of the Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Falls Reclamation Project in northeastern California.

Settlers entered upon this reclamation project almost a decade ago, and have apparently had experiences typical of other planned and promoted communities. Some of them have failed, some of them have succeeded beyond their own expectations and the expectations of those who selected them. It was felt that a study of their successes and failures would be of value in projecting and guiding future resettlement or colonization projects.

The criteria and methods used in the selection of settlers who were entering upon this project, and the categorical ranking of these settlers at the time of first occupancy, were made available to the author. Therefore, she had the opportunity to appraise the worth of these criteria and methods in terms of the attainments of the individual settlers and of the community as a whole.

CARL C. TAYLOR

In Charge, Division of Farm Population
and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural
Economics; and Social Research Section,
Farm Security Administration.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Problems of family selection have an important bearing on the success of projects of the Resettlement Administration. 1/ Because of this fact it was decided to study methods and criteria of selection as practiced by an agency of the Federal Government that has had considerable experience in this field.

To make a study of this sort, it was essential to single out a project where a large group of homesteaders chosen by a specific method of family selection had been admitted at one time. Furthermore, settlement must have been accomplished sufficiently long ago to permit an evaluation of the results of selection. The project also had to be one that offered more or less equal economic opportunities to individual members of the group.

The Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Federal Irrigation Project of the United States Bureau of Reclamation fulfilled the necessary requirements. It was settled in 1927 by 146 homesteaders to whom a definite selective technique had been applied. This made possible a 9-year period of observation, about the maximum that could be found anywhere. The quality of the soil was approximately uniform and water was abundant, thereby assuring the homesteaders economic opportunities that were fairly equal. The chief inequality lay in the fact that the homesteads varied in size from 40 to more than 80 acres, which was more than necessary to compensate for such slight differences in soil quality as did exist.

The primary object of this study is necessarily to answer the narrow question: "What was the value of the particular device used under the particular conditions of irrigation homesteading?" Even this question can be answered only by comparing the actual results of selection with the probable results had selection been lacking, for no second method was employed under similar conditions to afford another comparison. Moreover, this comparison cannot take into account the silent elimination that took place through the mere announcement of the selection requirements.

The disparity in the aim, the human material involved, and the processes of selection between a western irrigation project and projects of other types gives rise to the question whether results drawn from the one can be applied to the others.

So far as the comparison between Reclamation and Resettlement Projects is concerned, there is above all the fundamental difference that Resettlement projects are planned to assist a definite group of people, while no such aim is involved in Reclamation settlement policies. A Resettlement project is laid out, for instance, to provide more wholesome

1/ The Resettlement Administration was succeeded by the Farm Security Administration, September 1, 1937.

living conditions for a group of stranded miners, or of families removed from submarginal lands, or of rural industrial workers with seasonal employment too short to provide the year-round family living. Reclamation, on the other hand, is based on a general philosophy of making potential natural resources effective and, by doing so, strengthening the economic and social structure of the arid and semi-arid regions. For this broad general purpose, it does not matter from what layers of the population or from what geographical areas the immediate settler material is drawn, provided it is able to develop the land and thus serve the ultimate aim.

In brief, Resettlement needs land to help people, while Reclamation needs people to help the land.

This basic difference of approach, however, has only a slight bearing on the applicability of the results of family selection on a Reclamation project to projects of the Resettlement and similar types. It is reflected in the Reclamation technique by absence of eligibility rules concerning residence in a definite area, neediness, or previous or present occupation. Instead, the circle of applicants is delimited solely from the point of view of future project development. Otherwise, the techniques of selection on all kinds of projects have very much in common. In the first place, the problem of selection - singling out the most promising applicants from a group already delimited in view of the specific kind of settlement - is always the same. If, therefore, analysis of an individual example demonstrates that selection is better than no selection, it strengthens the conviction that selection in general is worth while, provided the technique fits the purpose of the particular type of settlement as well as it did in the instance investigated. Second, certain important criteria used in settler selection, although varying in emphasis, recur in almost every instance. Among the most important of these are farming experience, capital, health, and certain character qualifications. Observations on the significance of these criteria can be utilized to a certain degree even though the conditions differ from those of the example studied. Third, the technical devices in selection methods are extremely limited in number. The most important ones are the home interview, the office interview by an individual or a board, and references, the results of which are recorded in narrative form, or by checking of preformulated answers, or by rating scales. Observations on the reliability of these technical elements are rather freely applicable to any method that makes use of the same elements. These considerations tie up the following analysis of a particular instance of selection with selection in general.

Chapter II

BACKGROUND AND SELECTION PROCEDURE

Location and Economic Conditions

The Klamath Irrigation Project forms the prosperous farming center of the Klamath Basin, one of the most important sheep and cattle grazing areas of the West. It is situated on the Klamath Plateau at about 4,000 feet elevation. Its northern part lies in south central Oregon (Klamath County), and its southern part in northern California (Siskiyou and Modoc Counties). The Tule Lake Division of the project was developed south of the older Main Division after the World War.

Located in the lake bed of former Lake Tule, which was dried up in the reclamation process, the division has extremely fertile alluvial soils. 2/ Its principal crops are alfalfa, grain, and potatoes. Yields of alfalfa vary from 3 to 6 tons per acre, wheat from 20 to 50 bushels, barley from 30 to 60 bushels, and potatoes from 125 to 300 bushels. 3/ Alfalfa and grain production predominated during the period of early settlement, but the area has lately taken up potato growing on a large scale. Potato growing on the homesteads was initiated largely by renters coming in from the outside on either a cash-rent or crop-share basis. The large profits that these renters realized from the land built up through 4 or 5 years in alfalfa induced the homesteaders themselves to "go into the potato business." Today, after 3 years of intensive potato cultivation and resultant soil depletion, many of the farmers find that their land must be turned back to alfalfa. Since returns from alfalfa are incomparably lower than returns from potatoes, the most progressive farmers are experimenting with crops that can be used to replace potatoes without sacrificing the large proceeds realized during the last few years. (See Fig. 1 and Table 26; Tables 17 to 27 are in the Appendix.) Possibly the substitute will be found in grass and clover seeds grown on a large scale.

Thus, many farms operate today under a 2-crop system of alfalfa and potatoes. Some farmers have no livestock, and many of them have

2/ A broad strip of fertile irrigated land adjoining the homesteads and lying at the northern and eastern borders of the so-called "sump," the remainder of former Tule Lake, is leased out, usually in large plots of thousands of acres, by the Bureau of Reclamation. Secret bids govern the award of the 5-year contracts. To operate on this land is a risky business, for in years of supernormal precipitation the dams sometimes break and the area is flooded. For this reason, the operation of the "lease land" is mostly restricted to the larger farms of the surrounding area, and only a few of the homesteaders participate.

3/ Federal Reclamation Projects, U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, October 1935, p. 77.

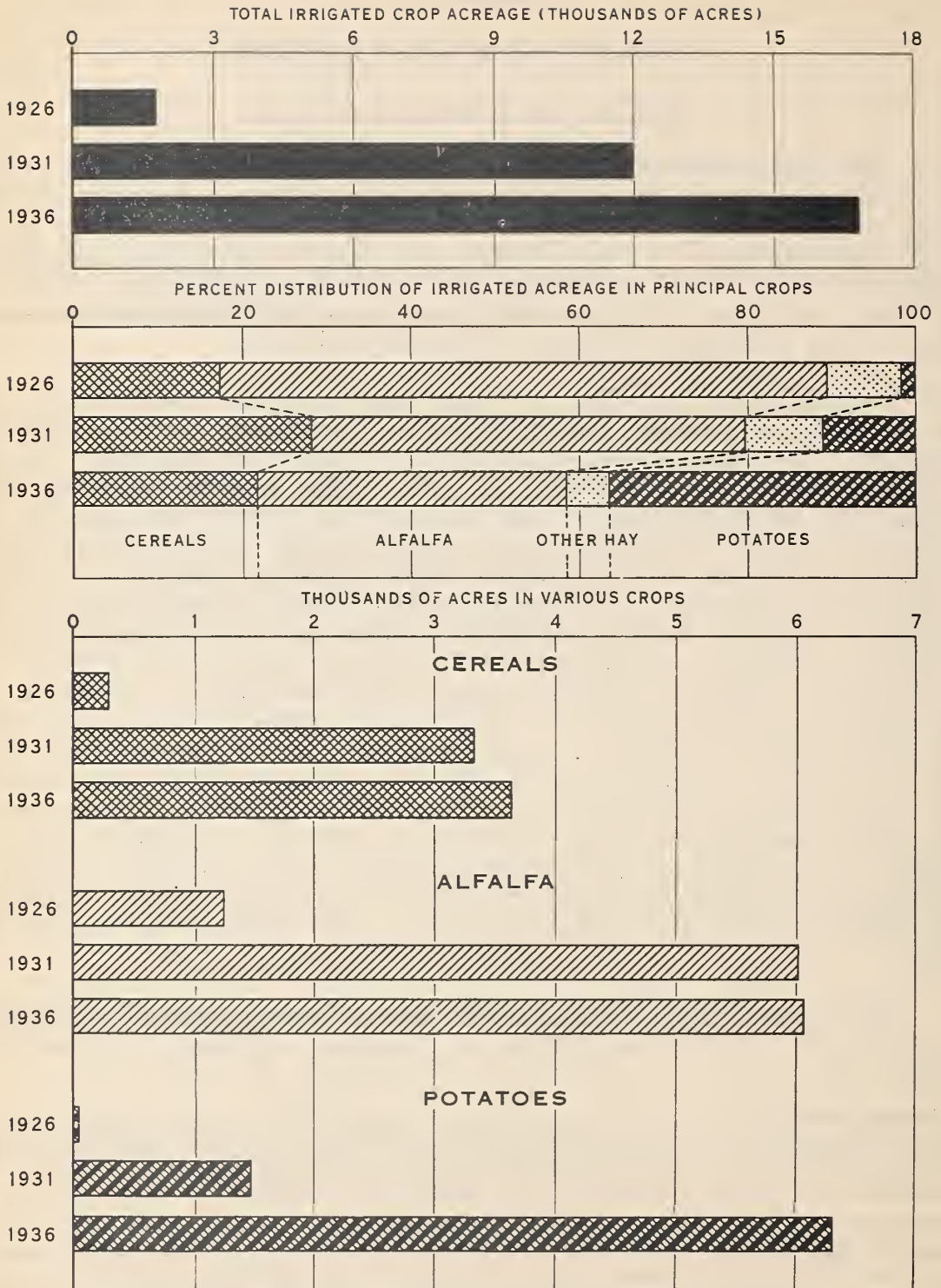


FIG. 1.- TOTAL IRRIGATED CROP ACREAGE AND ACREAGE IN VARIOUS CROPS, TULE LAKE DIVISION OF THE KLAMATH IRRIGATION PROJECT, 1926, 1931, AND 1936

only a few cows and pigs for home use. Greater diversification and a better balance between livestock and crops is maintained, however, by the more cautious and conservative farmers. Those of Bohemian descent, particularly, (see page 10) cling traditionally to a more diversified system.

Interspersed between the farms with a 2-crop or a more diversified farming system are some units serving as winter-feed bases for the sheepmen and stockmen of the area. When range privileges to sheepmen were made dependent upon ownership of sufficient winter-feed bases, some of these operators took up homesteads. They were admitted to the project largely because they were expected to supply a demand for the alfalfa grown by other farmers. But public range conditions around the project are so favorable that, unless the winter is very hard, sheep owners with well-organized businesses not only need no additional hay but even have alfalfa of their own for sale. The area is overstocked with sheep, however, and the less clever and less businesslike sheepmen lose out in the competition for the public range. They are forced to resort to expensive private range, and often to use their alfalfa for supplementary feeding.

Finally, a few specialized dairy farmers are on the project. As a result of reverses suffered during the depression, dairying has become less widespread in recent years. Dairying to meet the needs of the project is carried on mainly as a sideline of the more diversified farming enterprises.

Although the crop acreage has been expanded since 1930 by approximately 4,000 acres, or 33 percent, and although the entire increase has been utilized to expand potato growing, the number of workstock has been at a standstill during recent years. This has resulted from a precipitate wave of mechanization of farm power. The use of tractors for large-scale grain-growing on the "lease land" (see footnote 2, p. 3) probably has encouraged purchases of tractors by the homesteaders. This development may be one of the reasons for a marked concentration of homestead ownership on the project.

Family Selection Method of the Bureau of Reclamation

The Bureau of Reclamation introduced a method of family selection for its homesteaders because of unsatisfactory conditions that had come about on a number of Federal reclamation projects. Lack of capital and lack of farming experience on the part of the homesteaders had in many instances so retarded project development, that, years after settlement, large portions of the irrigable land still remained unprepared for irrigation. Many settlers therefore could not meet construction payments, thus augmenting the burden for others who were jointly liable with them for such charges. As a consequence, numerous farms were abandoned. Tenantry, largely under corporations, assumed considerable proportions, and many families, having invested all their small capital in the development of their homesteads without being able to bring them

to full earning capacity, found themselves in despair. 4/

The late Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation, proposed a program to forestall the recurrence of such socially and economically disastrous developments. In principle, he favored delivering ready-made farms instead of unprepared land to settlers. Thus the homesteaders, launched immediately upon the work they understood, could obtain some farm income from the very first year. Moreover, such a practice would save them much expense in that it would eliminate purchases of machinery necessary to prepare the ground for use but unnecessary for regular farm operations. In the event that this change of policy should be considered too sweeping, Commissioner Mead proposed that sufficient development credit, at least, should be provided. Other features of the program were the provision for permanent technical advice, and, above all, the introduction of "selective settlement" in order to exclude from the outset persons whose lack of farming experience would inevitably destine them to become misfits. 5/ The findings and recommendations of a special committee investigating the soundness of Reclamation policies, submitted in the so-called "Fact-Finders' Report," strongly supported his program. 6/

The primary aim of selective settlement, therefore, was to bring in settlers with sufficient capital and farming experience to assure rapid development of the irrigable land into well-organized farm units. Since the provision of homes for stable farm families is a recognized purpose of Federal Reclamation, a secondary aim was to secure residents who would be permanent. Instability of the original homesteaders is particularly undesirable because it results in the reaping of the homesteading benefits by speculative elements, while the stable farmers who come on the farms through purchases from the original homesteaders are forced to shoulder an additional burden from the outset.

Although both aims were stressed in the discussion preceding the

4/ Mead, Elwood. What Federal Reclamation Should Include. Agricultural Engineering, July 1926, p. 237.

5/ Ibid., p. 237. See there the description of conditions on the Belle Fourche Project:

"These things (certain farming activities) are only done, however, by good farmers, and unfortunately many of the first settlers on this project were miners, city clerks, deep-sea divers, itinerant baseball players - a collection of heterogeneous occupations as far removed from good farmers as could be conceived. As a result, at the end of 15 years, there are 70 empty houses and a large number of fertile but abandoned farms. Much of this land is now owned by mortgage and trust companies which for a long time hoped that buyers would come and agricultural development automatically take place."

6/ U. S. Congress, 68th Congress, first session, Committee of Special Advisers on Reclamation, Senate Document No. 92, Federal Reclamation by Irrigation, Washington, D. C., 1924, pp. 91-97.

adoption of a selective settlement policy, the method actually devised in 1926 emphasized the ability of the applicants to develop the homesteaded land rather than the intensity of their desire to farm the homesteads permanently. This was particularly due to skepticism as to whether the longing to own a farm home and the willingness to undergo hardships for it were capable of accurate diagnosis. Still it appears that even what little might have been done to insure stability on the homesteads was neglected because of the defeatist attitude regarding such efforts. Certain types of applicants - for instance, professional men unwilling to give up their occupations - were not excluded even though they were almost certain to leave or lease out their holdings after a short time.

The selection procedure devised did not aim explicitly at getting public-spirited citizens for the prospective community. However, inclusion of a rating on "character" was indicative of a desire to bring respectable families to the project; and there may have been a subconscious expectation that persons who would discharge promptly their obligations toward the Bureau of Reclamation would also make worthwhile citizens.

From these considerations a relatively simple rating system emerged, based on individual ratings for farm experience, capital, industry, and character. An Examining Board consisting of three members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior does the rating. The basis for the ratings is provided by statements from the applicants as to their farming experience and capital, by information furnished by references, and by personal impressions obtained when the applicants appear before the Examining Board. 7/

Minimum requirements include 2 years' farming experience and \$2,000 unencumbered capital or its equivalent in assets useful for future farming, such as farm machinery and livestock. Statements from applicants regarding health sufficient for farm work are required, but no effort is made to verify these statements.

Thus sections 6, 7, and 9 of the Public Notice opening the 1927 Tule Lake Homesteads for entry read as follows:

6. Applicants must be qualified. - No entry shall be accepted by the local land office until applicant therefor has satisfied the Examining Board, appointed for the Klamath project to consider such matters, that he is possessed of such qualifications (in addition to the qualifications required under the homestead laws), as to industry, experience, character, and capital, as in the opinion of the board are necessary to give reasonable assurance of success by the prospective settler.

7. Requirements as to industry, experience, character, and capital. - Each applicant must possess health and vigor, and have had at least two

7/ See application blanks and reference sheets in the Appendix.

years' actual experience in farm work and farm practice. He must have at least \$2,000 in money free of liability, or the equivalent thereof in livestock, farming equipment, or other assets deemed by the Examining Board to be as useful to the applicant as money.

9. Determining by the board of the relative standing of applicants.~ The relative standing of the applicants will be based upon a percentage rating; each of the qualifications, industry, experience, character, and capital will be considered as having a possible weight of 25 per cent. Applicants will be rated according to the following scale, and no applicant will be considered eligible who falls below the minimum named in any one of the headings in this scale; or who does not, in the opinion of the board, possess the health and vigor necessary for active farm work.

Industry	Per- cent	Farm <u>experience</u>	Per- cent	<u>Character</u>	Per- cent	<u>Capital</u>	Per- cent
Fair	5	(2 years or more in farming other than by irrigation)	15	Fair	5	\$2,000	15
Good	15	(2 years or more in irrigation)	25	Good	15	\$3,000	20
Excellent	25	-----		Excellent	25	\$5,000	25

The reference sheets, generally sent out to three references given by the applicant and sometimes to his local banker as well, contain the following questions:

- What is the applicant's occupation?
- What farming experience has he had?
- Has he been successful as a farmer?
- Is he industrious?
- Is the applicant in your opinion qualified to undertake the development of a homestead on a Federal irrigation project?
- Is the applicant responsible to the extent that he discharges his obligations promptly?
- What is his general reputation and standing in the community in which he resides?
- Add any other facts relative to his fitness to undertake the development of a farm on a Federal irrigation project.

An accompanying letter asks, furthermore, whether the applicant can meet the required minimum of \$2,000 capital.

The Bureau of Reclamation recognizes that this method of selection is rather elementary. Reliable ratings on "industry" and character"

are hard to obtain because the selection board has no way of establishing real acquaintanceship with the applicants and therefore can hardly reach a reliable decision on these psychological criteria. The references, upon which the board must rely to some extent, are usually friends of the applicant, and the questions put before them are so general that little valuable information can be expected. Nevertheless, this simple method worked with surprising efficiency in the instance investigated. This fact invites conjecture concerning the need for and value of more elaborate schemes.

Family Selection for the Tule Lake Division in 1927

When the first series of 174 farm units of the Tule Lake Division was opened to entry in 1922, the exceptional quality of the land was unknown. A 30-days' preference right for veterans applied to these openings, but the veterans were not particularly eager to take up the homesteads. Moreover, trouble arose over the question of the construction payments, which considerably exceeded those on the Main Division of the Klamath Project. The public notice that opened entry, therefore, was suspended in January 1923, although only 65 homesteads with an irrigable area of 3,200 acres had been filed upon.

The next public notice, issued in January 1927, cancelled the former one, but opened to entry on a water-rental basis 57 of the units remaining from 1922, and 88 new ones. These 145 units comprised approximately 8,000 acres. Construction payments were to be started at \$88.35 per acre, payable without interest over a period of 40 years, beginning when "agricultural development has advanced sufficiently to permit of a district organization." Should the water users fail to organize into a district, the construction charge would be \$100.05, payable in 20 years. The operation and maintenance charge was set at \$1.85 for 2 acre-feet of water. Additional water would be available at a charge of 75 cents per acre-foot, but actually it was almost never required. 8/

General requirements for homesteading were the same as for all other Federal Reclamation projects. During the first 3 years the settler must reside on the homestead for 7 months out of every 12. Within this period, he must make certain soil improvements and build a residence; however, a flimsy shack will meet the housing requirements. After this he may offer "first proof." At any time subsequently, he may obtain patent; that is, he may clear his title by offering second proof to

8/ Aside from a small initial payment made by the 1922 group, no construction charge has been paid to this date. The organization of the district was expected to take place in 1937. Since the proceeds from the lease land are credited to the water users against the construction charge, actual payments on construction will be much lower than was originally announced, and perhaps none at all will be necessary.

the effect that he has raised satisfactory crops on at least half of the irrigable land during the 2 years immediately preceding. This second proof must be presented within 5 years from the date of filing. Under the veterans' preference right, even these relatively easy requirements are considerably modified; ex-soldiers with 2 years' service may prove up after only 1 year if they have produced satisfactory crops on one-half of their land.

A veterans' preference right of 12 days applied to 56 of the 57 units remaining from the 1922 opening, and one of 30 days to the 88 new ones. 9/ Again the veterans showed slight enthusiasm. There were no roads, no railroads, no water supply, and no electricity. There were only bare lands partially covered with saltgrass and other weeds, which after breaking would turn into a fine gray powder, relentlessly blanketing everything in the dust storms frequent during planting season. Even though 5 years had passed since the first opening, the quality of this powder was not appreciated. As a consequence, only 57 veterans had filed upon homesteads when the preference right expired. The other units were taken by civilians, some not being filed upon until 1929. In a word, "the land went begging." Those most eager to acquire the homesteads were the people from the surrounding area, to whom the attributes of the soil were no secret.

A very heterogeneous group finally filled the 1927 openings. There were engineers from Missouri, farmers from Wisconsin, oil workers from Texas, and lumbermen from Oregon and Washington. A comparatively large number were farmers or sons of farmers and stockmen from adjacent counties. Two small groups were sharply defined as to national character. The first of these consisted of Bohemians who came from a settlement founded in 1909 at the northeast corner of the present project. Sheepmen of Irish nationality comprised the other.

Sometimes the older Bohemians took the homesteads for themselves, planning to transfer them later to sons who were not yet grown. Others who had grown-up sons encouraged them to apply and equipped them with the capital needed for the venture. Since these people enjoyed an excellent reputation as industrious and thrifty farmers, they were gladly admitted. They possessed agreeable social traits such as humor and musical talent. Except for a few failures, members of the second generation in particular amply fulfilled the expectations they aroused. Combining the efficiency of their fathers with an American education, they are today among the most prosperous and most respected farmers on the project.

The Irish sheepmen were for the most part without farming experience, and were estranged from community life by many years of sheepherding. Thus they were not particularly fitted for homesteading. The disastrous fall of sheep prices from \$11.50 per head in 1928 to

9/ One homestead of the 1922 group is not included here because its allotment involved certain legal complications.

\$2.50 in 1932 (Table 27) has since ruined many of them, and their financial plight has lowered them in the estimation of their more fortunate fellow-homesteaders.

The fact that there was a pressing need to dispose of the homesteads, many of them having lain ready for entry since 1922, led to the acceptance of practically all who applied. The selection board comprised the superintendent of the Klamath Project (since replaced), a local banker, and the county agent for Klamath County. Their main concern at the time was - and admittedly under similar conditions again would be - to get the land in cultivation as fast as possible, regardless of the quality of applicants. For this reason, a number of persons were admitted whose future success was doubtful from the beginning. For the same reason, the examination on farming experience was little more than a formality.

In 1931, when a realization of the actual value of the land attracted many more applicants than there were homesteads, selection could, and did, proceed along much stricter lines. 10/ It might seem, therefore, that an analysis of selection in 1931 rather than in 1927 would have furnished a better picture of the method at work.

Closer examination proves, however, that the exact opposite is true. If any applicants had been excluded, we would have records of their ratings but could not know how they would have compared with those who were selected. The very fact that the 1927 material includes all applicants, even those who would have been rejected under more rigid standards, enables us to test much better the value of the rating method and the work of the board. It is now known what became of all applicants and what qualifications they later demonstrated. But this advantage is gained at a price, since the range of the ratings in 1927 was accordingly narrow. Probably, too, the task of rating was not performed as meticulously as would have been the case had the number of applications been large. But it will be shown later that even these narrowly placed and relatively lenient ratings, when set in relation with the later development of the homesteaders, lead to the inference that, had the number of applicants permitted an elimination of those with low ratings, the result would have been beneficial.

10/ How enormously the appreciation of Tule Lake homesteads has increased in recent years is expressed by the ratio of applications to available homesteads in 1937. On September 9, 1937, notice was issued that on October 25, 1937, 69 additional homesteads would be opened on the Tule Lake Division. Almost 1,500 applications for these units were received on October 25, and subsequent applications brought the total to about 1,800. Similar occurrences have happened in recent years on other Federal Reclamation projects, indicating that the exceptionally favorable natural conditions of the Tule Lake Division do not alone account for this change of attitude.

Chapter III

RELATION BETWEEN THE INITIAL RATINGS AND LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLERS

The following analysis deals with the accuracy with which the homesteaders' later development on the project was forecast in the ratings given in selection. A high degree of correlation between the two would warrant the conclusion that, had applications been more numerous than homesteads, the selection method would have been capable of excluding the less qualified applicants.

The analysis falls into two parts. First, a comparison is made of the ratings given the applicants in 1927 and 1928 by the selection board (hereafter called "initial ratings") and the demonstrated quality of the homesteaders, expressed by re-ratings obtained for the entire group in 1936 (hereafter called "final ratings"). Second, the initial ratings are compared with the settlers' stability, expressed by the fact whether, in 1936, they were still operating their homesteads, had become habitual lessors, or had sold out in the meantime. 11/

The re-ratings on "quality" of 1936 were given separately for success, effort, and social standing in the community. The ratings are "1" (excellent), "2" (medium or average), and "3" (poor). The rating on social standing cannot directly serve as a test of the value of the selection method, as the latter did not explicitly consider citizenship qualities. But it was thought that an analysis showing how closely the degree of community spirit, later demonstrated, was contingent upon the farming and character qualifications covered by the method might prove valuable.

The analysis of the data thus obtained could not make use of mathematical correlation methods. For one, the initial ratings, which were known before the field survey was made, showed heavily skewed distributions, and similar distributions were expected for the final ratings. This expectation turned out to be true later on. The results of mathematical correlation between variables thus distributed would not only have been of little value but might have been actually misleading. Secondly, it would have been extremely difficult to get the members of the re-rating committee (See Appendix, Methodological Note) together for such a considerable number of sessions as would have been necessary to establish ratings as finely graded as the initial ones. It was even doubtful whether such ratings would have been very reliable, particularly as far as the group of settlers who had sold out in the meantime was concerned. It was considered advisable, therefore, to let the re-rating consist only

11/ A detailed presentation as to how the necessary data were obtained, including some observations on the reaction of the settlers while the survey was being made, is given in the Methodological Note in the Appendix.

of a rough division of the settlers into three quality groups. The appraisal of stability likewise could consist only of a division of the settlers into the three groups of those who, in 1936, still operated their homesteads, those who had become habitual lessors, and those who had sold their homesteads. Accordingly, the statistical treatment could be carried only to the construction of contingency tables and the corresponding percentage distributions. All conclusions had to be derived directly from these tables. It is felt that the non-mathematical treatment is better adapted to the type of data, and that the resulting presentation of the full material reveals certain interesting details which might have been submerged in the usual presentation of the results of mathematical correlation.

Initial Ratings as Related to Demonstrated Quality of the Settlers

The comparison between the initial ratings and the final ratings, made in an effort to discover how the expectations placed in the individuals of the selected group were borne out by facts, is the core of this study. As final ratings could be obtained for the settlers who had left the project as well as for those who remained on it, it was possible to subject the entire original group to this analysis. The period covered by the final ratings thus took in at least 9 years for the members of Groups A and B (owners who were stable, and habitual lessors). For the members of Group C it was the time which elapsed between the settling and the disposing of the homestead. This period varied from 1 to 9 years, but as most of the sales took place rather recently, it was generally 6 or 7 years at least.

The original selection procedure of the Bureau of Reclamation, as applied in 1927, provided for separate ratings on farm experience, capital, industry, and character. Ratings ranged between a minimum of 15 and a maximum of 25 points for farm experience and capital, and between 5 and 25 for industry and character. ^{12/} Theoretically, therefore, total ratings could vary between 40 and 100. In practice, the Tule Lake selection board ranked nobody lower than 15 for industry and character, and no one below 70 for the total score. The scarcity of applicants evidently was responsible for this narrow range.

In the following tables, these initial ratings are grouped by class intervals of five points for the total ratings and by class intervals of 2.5 points for the ratings on experience, capital, industry, and char-

^{12/} Several years later, a revision of the procedure lowered the maximum of the industry and character ratings to 15 and raised the maximum of the experience and capital ratings to 35. Furthermore, a definite scale for rating on experience and capital was introduced. Maximum ratings on capital were to be given for a capital of \$10,000 instead of \$5,000 as before.

Table 1.- Relation between total initial ratings and final ratings on success and effort 1/

Initial ratings	Total	Percentage distribution of those whose final rating on -					
		Success was:			Effort was:		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
		(Good)	(Mediocre)	(Poor)	(Good)	(Mediocre)	(Poor)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total rating:							
70 - 75	3	-	5	6	-	5	7
75.01 - 80	5	3	5	12	2	5	20
80.01 - 85	14	8	16	32	8	15	33
85.01 - 90	22	18	28	19	18	32	-
90.01 - 95	22	23	22	19	22	22	20
95.01 -100	34	48	24	12	50	21	20

(For absolute numbers, see Table 17.)

1/ Percentages are based on totals with equal final ratings instead of totals with equal initial ratings, because otherwise the bases would have been exceedingly small for most groups. The same applies to the following table. For percentages computed horizontally, see Table 24.

Table 2.- Relation between total initial ratings and final ratings on social standing

Initial ratings	Total	Percentage distribution of those whose rating on social standing was -		
		1	2	3
		(Outstanding)	(Average)	(Undesirable)
Total	100	100	100	100
Total rating:				
70 - 75	3	-	2	8
75.01 - 80	5	-	6	8
80.01 - 85	14	4	13	29
85.01 - 90	22	18	22	25
90.01 - 95	22	11	27	17
95.01 -100	34	67	30	13

(For absolute numbers, see Table 17.)

Table 3.- Relation between initial ratings and average final ratings

Initial ratings	Weighted average final rating on -			
			Combined	
	Success	Effort	Social standing	success, effort, and social standing
Total rating:				
70 - 75	2.25	2.25	2.50	2.33
75.01 - 80	2.00	2.29	2.29	2.19
80.01 - 85	2.00	2.00	2.32	2.11
85.01 - 90	1.73	1.63	2.03	1.80
90.01 - 95	1.63	1.63	2.03	1.77
95.01 -100	1.39	1.39	1.67	1.49

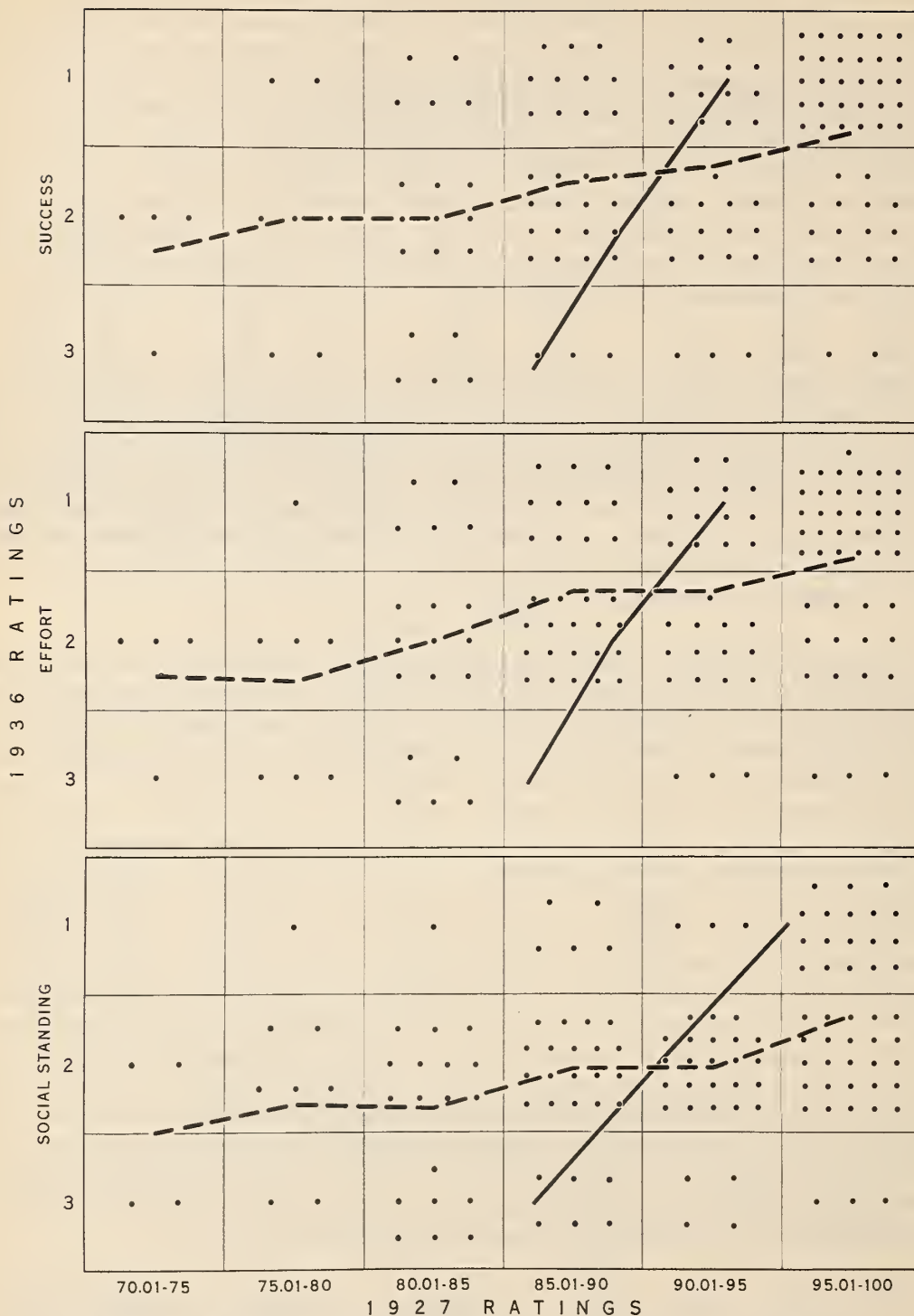
(See also Table 21.)

acter. (See Tables 1, 2, 17, and 18.) In addition to the final ratings of 1, 2, and 3, seven typical combinations of the final ratings were formed, establishing a declining scale of qualifications on the basis of an individual's capacities as a farmer and his standing in the community. This scale includes the following sub-classifications: Good farmer, outstanding citizen; good farmer, normal citizen; average farmer, outstanding citizen; average farmer, normal citizen; average farmer, undesirable citizen; bad farmer, normal citizen; and bad farmer, undesirable citizen. Non-typical combinations, such as "good farmer, undesirable citizen," or "bad farmer, outstanding citizen" are set apart in an "other" group. (See Tables 4, 19, and 20.)

The final ratings, 1, 2, and 3, have a somewhat different meaning when the reference is to success and effort in farming than when it is to social standing. Given for success and effort, they mean "good," "mediocre," and "poor." Given for social standing, they mean "community leader, or outstanding citizen active in community life"; "average, respectable citizen without qualities of leadership, or without ambition"; and "undesirable citizen." Therefore, although a rating of "2" has a rather derogatory connotation when applied to farming, this is not true of a similar rating on social standing.

Table 1 reveals a distinct correlation between the various final ratings and the initial ones. Starting with the total initial scores which summarize the four sub-ratings on farming experience, capital, industry, and character, we find that the homesteaders who had received high initial ratings are far more numerous among those who had high final ratings than among those who had medium and low final ratings. Those with the highest initial scores of 95 to 100 constitute 48 percent of those whose later success, and 50 percent of those whose later effort were outstanding, while they constitute only 24 and 21 percent of the mediocre, and 12 and 20 percent among the failures. As the initial ratings decline, the representation among the three groups with high, medium, and low final ratings at first becomes even, to shift very definitely to the side of the proven failures as the initial ratings decline to the very lowest. Thus, the homesteaders with the lowest initial ratings of 70 to 80 comprise only 3 percent (success) and 2 percent (effort) of the highly successful and industrious, while the percentages among the mediocre are 10 (success) and 10 (effort), and among the failures 18 (success) and 27 (effort). In other words, as the initial ratings decline from high to low, the percentage of provenly desirable homesteaders declines too, while the percentage of undesirable ones is ascending.

Despite the fact that citizenship qualities were not among the explicit criteria for selection, a significant relation is also visible between total initial ratings and social standing (Table 2). It must be kept in mind that, since the "1" rating designates only leader personalities or men actively interested in community affairs, the bulk of respectable but relatively inconspicuous homesteaders crowd into the "2" column. Fully two-thirds of those who became outstanding citizens, and



THE BROKEN LINE IN EACH DIAGRAM CONNECTS THE AVERAGE 1936 RATINGS OF THE GROUPS WITH INDICATED 1927 RATINGS

THE SOLID LINE CONNECTS THE AVERAGE 1927 RATINGS OF THE GROUPS WITH INDICATED 1936 RATINGS.

FIG. 2.- RELATION BETWEEN INITIAL AND FINAL RATINGS

only 13 percent of the undesirable ones, had been thus highly appraised. Here, also, the distribution shows a definite increase of the percentage of less desirable men as the initial ratings become lower.

As a result of these relations, the weighted averages of the final ratings on success, effort, and social standing show a very regular change from comparatively poor (2.33 for all final ratings combined) to comparatively good (1.49 for all final ratings combined) as the initial ratings rise from 70-75 to 95-100 (Tables 3, 21, and Fig. 2).

In view of these relations for all three classes of final ratings, it is not surprising that the distribution of the homesteaders with different all-round desirability pictures a like result (Table 4). Except for some irregularities due to the sub-grouping by a second criterion (quality as a citizen) with a slightly different rating scale, the line connecting the modal groups in the individual columns bends slowly upward, indicating the presence of a relationship between the total initial ratings and the "general desirability" of the individuals.

As the most important purpose of selection is the elimination of decidedly bad prospects, it is particularly illuminating to note that, of the 26 clearly undesirable cases (combined ratings, "average farmer, undesirable citizen," "bad farmer, normal citizen," "bad farmer, undesirable citizen"), 11 had been rated 85 or less and 19, 90 or less (Table 19). Therefore, had the applications been numerous enough to warrant the rejection of all those rated 85 or less, 42 percent of all the undesirable applicants would have been barred. Simultaneously, only 8 percent of the clearly desirable applicants (combined ratings, "good farmer, outstanding or normal citizen" and "average farmer, outstanding citizen") would have been rejected. 13/ The benefits that would have resulted are obvious.

Considering the relative simplicity of the selection method and the circumstances surrounding its application, the relationships demonstrated so far must be regarded as rather satisfactory. That the correlation is far from perfect is evident of course in the relatively large number of persons with very high initial ratings who later turned out to be but mediocre farmers. It is reflected also in the fact that the average final ratings (Table 3) show a relatively narrow range, for example, only between 2.25 and 1.39 for effort and success. A near-perfect correlation, however, scarcely could be expected even with a much more refined method than the one employed.

13/ Three of the five good homesteaders who received low initial scores were aliens, two being Bohemians and the third a Swede. Despite the excellent reputation of the Bohemians from the Malin settlement northeast of the project, foreign descent (combined with a severe language handicap in one case) apparently led to misjudgment.

Table 4.- Relation between total initial ratings and general desirability 1/

Initial ratings	Percentage distribution of those who were -									
	Good		Average		Average		Average		Average	
	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen	farmer, : citizen
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total rating:										
70 - 75	3	-	-	5	10	-	10	-	10	-
75.01 - 80	5	-	-	7	-	16	-	16	20	-
80.01 - 85	14	5	8	20	10	-	10	-	50	20
85.01 - 90	22	9	20	20	50	50	50	50	-	20
90.01 - 95	22	9	31	25	20	17	20	17	10	40
95.01 -100	34	77	38	23	10	17	10	17	10	20

1/ The percentages of this table are based on very small totals. For absolute numbers, see Table 19 in the Appendix.

Table 5.- Relation between initial ratings for capital and final ratings on success and effort 1/

Initial ratings for capital	Homesteaders whose final rating on -									
	Success was:		Success was:		Success was:		Success was:		Success was:	
	Number : Percent	Number of : cases	Number of : cases	Percent	Number of : cases	Percent	Number of : cases	Percent	Number of : cases	Percent
Total	121	100	58	13	50	13	58	50	13	100
Rating:										
15 - 17.5	28	23	7	4	17	4	6	17	5	10
17.51 - 20	11	9	7	-	4	-	7	4	-	34
20.01 - 22.5	17	14	5	3	9	3	6	9	2	8
22.51 - 25	65	54	39	6	20	6	39	20	6	18
										40
										67
										15
										46

1/ Sheepmen and stockmen are excluded.

To which of the partial initial ratings are these surprisingly satisfactory results mainly attributable? ^{14/} The correlation between previous farming experience and the final ratings for success and effort in farming, although somewhat lower than that for the total ratings and success and effort, is marked. Evidently the selection board of the Tule Lake Division did a particularly creditable job in scaling down many exaggerated statements of the applicants on the subject of experience.

The regulations prescribed that men with "2 years or more in farming other than by irrigation" should be rated 15 and men with "2 years or more in irrigation" should be rated 25, but they did not specify as to the distribution of the intervening 10 points. Fortunately these rules were not taken too seriously. Men who claimed to have been farmers for 40 years sometimes were rated low, and others with a few years' experience were rated relatively high. Even persons who allegedly had decades of experience in irrigation farming occasionally were rated less than 20.

For two reasons, this procedure was entirely reasonable and legitimate. First, farm-experience claims can be easily "padded," a fact of which the selection board apparently was well aware. Second, farm experience is not measurable by time units. One person may learn in 2 years what another could not acquire in 20. The factors of intelligence, education, and eagerness to become a successful farmer are of paramount importance. The fact that the board evidently made an effort to take these factors into consideration helps to explain the fairly high correlation that exists between the ratings on farm experience and the later success and effort ratings of the homesteaders.

Previous farming experience and social standing on the project correlate even more closely. This may have resulted in part because the selection board favored especially that farm experience which was coupled with the intelligence and the energy likely to enable the possessor to play a major part in the community. Moreover, perhaps the non-farmers, from whose ranks came a large number of good settlers, found it necessary during the first years to concentrate their efforts on operating their homesteads rather than on activity in affairs of the community.

The correlation between initial ratings on farming experience and quality later demonstrated is reflected by a consistent distribution of the homesteaders with varying general desirability (combined ratings, Tables 19 and 20) and by a series of average final ratings that declines regularly as initial ratings on farm experience become lower (Table 21).

Between the initial capital scores and the eventual development of the homesteaders only a slight correlation exists. Homesteaders with high initial capital ratings predominate among the good, mediocre, and poor farmer groups, although a larger proportion of them are present among the better farmers. It was suspected that the lack of correlation might be due to the high original capital assets of the sheepmen, many of

^{14/} The following discussion is based on Tables 17 to 21.

whom proved later to be unsuccessful homesteaders. But a separate tabulation removing this source of disturbance shows that the principal reason for the low correlation probably lies simply in the unreliability of the initial capital statements (Table 5). A surprisingly large number of individuals declared their net worth at about \$2,000, the required minimum, or at about \$5,000, the amount necessary for the maximum rating on capital. The latter greatly predominated. Not only did some persons with less than \$5,000 in all probability offer "padded" statements but others may have concealed greater assets because of a feeling that a true declaration would not improve their chances of getting homesteads.

In exceptional cases these statements were checked by questions addressed to the applicants' bankers, but usually letters were sent only to the applicants' own references asking whether, in their opinion, the prospective homesteader possessed the minimum of \$2,000. The board seldom scaled down the net-worth statements made by the applicants. A uniform key was used almost invariably in translating the statement into capital ratings, so that the procedure was entirely mechanical. 15/ It seems probable that the task was done by a clerk even before the selection board convened. This easily explains the large number of applicants with high capital ratings among the unsuccessful and mediocre as well as among the high-class farmers. Under these conditions it is really surprising that, after all, relatively more well-equipped men are found among the latter than among the former.

This fact cannot be taken as a valid proof that the possession of the \$4,000 or \$5,000 required for a capital rating of 22.5 to 25 decidedly improved a man's chance for success. The relation may rather be an indirect one. A number of those applicants who "padded" their declarations of net worth up to \$4,000 and \$5,000 may have done so because they were possessed of a strong desire to farm, combined with sufficient intelligence to familiarize themselves with the selection requirements. This combination of desire to farm and intelligence (even without a too precise veracity) is among the best possible qualifications for a prospective farmer and may account for the eventual success of these homesteaders. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that not only the percentage of applicants who declared their capital from \$4,000 to \$5,000 (rated from 22.5 to 25), but also the percentage of those who declared their capital at from \$2,500 to \$3,000 (rated from 17.5 to 20), is higher among the good than among the mediocre and poor homesteaders. In a word, the slight relation existing does not afford a conclusive indication as to the amount of capital most desirable beyond the minimum of \$2,000.

In considering the relation between capital and social standing, it is interesting that although, as might be expected, the proportion of well-to-do men among the "leaders" is large, a goodly number of them are

15/ Fifteen points for \$2,000, twenty for \$3,000, twenty-five for \$5,000 and more, with one additional point for each \$200 between \$2,000 and \$3,000, and one for each \$400 between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

found in the "undesirable citizen" class. This suggests a question as to whether the latter were particularly skillful in misrepresentation, whether public sentiment frowned on those who possessed money but lacked effort, or whether other reasons existed. The material on individual homesteaders revealed clearly that the low social standing of these homesteaders with good capital ratings is due mainly to undesirable personal traits such as excessive drinking, ignorance, mistreatment of wives, and laziness.

The picture offered by the combined ratings expressing general desirability is correspondingly inconclusive. The numerical predominance of men with high capital ratings holds through all the groups, although more strongly in the better ones. Average farmers with no leadership qualities ("average farmer, normal citizen") show an interesting segregation into originally well-to-do and originally poor men, with the former somewhat predominating (Tables 19 and 20). The series of average final ratings is correspondingly erratic (Table 21).

The distribution of high and low ratings on industry and character clearly shows that the selection board was at a loss in most cases and, accordingly, gave applicants the benefit of the doubt. This was entirely reasonable in view of the nature of the reference material and the lack of first-hand information about most of the applicants. Thus, 82 percent of all ratings on industry and 91 percent of all ratings on character were between 22.5 and 25 points (Table 18). In fact, 47 percent of all ratings on industry, and 68 percent of all ratings on character were maximum (25) ratings. Evidently, lower ratings were given only when the adverse evidence, whether derived from personal acquaintance, the creation of a bad impression on the board, or unfavorable references, was especially strong. The only liberty taken by the board was the reasonable one of using the ratings on "industry" to express doubt whether women, old men, and crippled persons would make much headway on a homestead.

This predominance of high and maximum industry and character ratings precluded correlation with the later development of the homesteaders to an even greater extent than was the case for the capital scores. The overwhelming majority of the mediocre and poor as well as of the efficient farmers had originally received the highest ratings. The variation of the percentages with highest ratings among the classes of the good, mediocre, and poor farmers is correspondingly small, although some regularity is discernible even here. Whatever merit the ratings on character and industry had consisted mainly in the fact that the judgment of the selection board was evidently very good in those few cases where it dared give really low marks. The few persons with low character ratings invariably turned up later with mediocre and poor scores for effort, success, and social standing. To a lesser extent this holds also for the low ratings on industry, particularly as far as the correlation with social standing is concerned (Tables 17 and 18). The combined ratings show that only 4 of the 25 rated less than 22.5 on industry, and not a single one of the 12 rated equally low on character, are in a class higher than the "average farmer, normal citizen" group. On the other hand, the confidence

for lack of better knowledge expressed in the high industry and character ratings proved unfounded in a considerable number of cases (Tables 19 and 20).

The final ratings become inconsistent partly for this reason and partly because of the small number of cases in the lower-rated classes (Table 21).

Obviously the ratings for the two psychological criteria were not valueless in designating really bad cases. On the other hand, their contribution in separating the excellent homesteader from the mediocre was very small. Moreover, the results would certainly have been even less satisfactory had not approximately one-third of the applicants been known to the county agent on the selection board.

Why do initial partial ratings which correlate more or less doubtfully with the final development of the homesteaders combine into initial total ratings which show a much closer correlation? 16/ If the items added merely summarized the impressions of several persons utilizing a single criterion, the results could be explained as due to the mutual compensation of erroneously high or low ratings originating from different observers. But the situation in question was the reverse: the items added were ratings on distinctly different criteria, given by one and the same committee.

The arithmetic of a rating device composed of sub-ratings offers the following explanation. A better correlation should be anticipated for the total ratings than for the individual sub-ratings when two conditions are fulfilled. These conditions are: (1) that some correlation of the same direction (either direct or inverse) exist between all, or at least some, of the sub-ratings and attainment of the purpose for which the ratings are intended; (2) that the qualifications covered by the sub-ratings be of such a nature that the value of one, with respect to this purpose, is heightened or lessened by the presence of the others.

The first postulate is self-explanatory. The second one is derived from the fact that, corresponding class intervals assumed, a low (high) rating on one criterion pushes an individual down (up) the scale of total ratings only by a fraction of the distance it pushes him down (up) the scale of rating for this particular criterion. The fraction is determined by the total number and weight of the criteria used. The ratings on the other criteria act as shock absorbers, mitigating the effect of the one low (high) rating on the total.

16/ That the correlation of the total ratings is far better is proven by the fact that the modal groups of the columns form consistently ascending lines, although the class interval is 5 points, that is, only one-half as large as would correspond to the class interval of 2.5 used for the four sub-ratings (Table 18).

This automatic process operates to increase the correlation between the total ratings and the purpose for which the ratings are intended only when, in actuality, the importance of the presence or absence of one criterion is not absolute, but changes as it is strengthened or weakened by the presence (or absence) of other criteria. Excessive drinking, for instance, is a rather absolute criterion and would make a man a very poor prospect no matter what his other qualifications might be. Should a poor rating on this score be diluted by higher ones on intelligence and capital, for example, the final ranking might be unjustifiably high. Therefore, this item should never figure in a rating system of combined sub-ratings. Farming experience, on the contrary, not only stands diluting extraordinarily well but even requires it, for the extent to which farming experience can be disregarded depends entirely on the presence or absence of such other qualifications as intelligence, ambition, and education. Therefore, a low rating on farming experience should be given full weight in the total ratings only when it is uncompensated for by high ratings on other qualifications, that is, when it is accompanied by other low sub-ratings. 17/

As the four criteria of the particular device under investigation are very distinctly intersupporting, the value of capital and farm experience in the final success depending largely upon general character and industry, the improvement of the correlation through addition of the sub-ratings theoretically should not be surprising. Still, when the very low correlations between actual behavior and ratings on industry and character, and the not much better one between actual behavior and capital, are considered, it appears as if the outlined arithmetical process could not totally account for the large superiority of the total over the partial initial ratings.

The solution lies in the fact that the group of 1927-28 applicants contained a considerable number of non-farmers with some agricultural experience who later became very good homesteaders. They impressed the board as being intelligent, educated, and ambitious. Since no ratings were provided for these qualifications, all the board could do under existing regulations was to attach additional weight to what little farm experience these applicants possessed and to rate them high on industry and character. But the concept of farm experience could not be stretched out of all relation to its literal meaning by making it cover not only intelligence and education, but business ability acquired in an occupation the very opposite of farming. This is especially true as business

17/ Whether the method of added ratings is not too crude a procedure to furnish a near-perfect correlation with the attainment of the purpose of the ratings under any circumstances is another question. Certainly, if qualities producing a certain effect are interrelated, the relation is not of the additive but of the conditional type - a certain quality, for example, may be of no value unless supported by will power. But, if the method works in approximately the right direction, it may be satisfactory for practical purposes.

ability and length of previous occupation in farming probably stand in an inverse relation in a group drawn from both farm and non-farm occupations. These men, therefore, had to be rated low on farm experience. As many of them became good farmers, they seriously disturb the correlation between farming experience and later success. But as they were rated high on industry and character, their disturbing influence on the total ratings is much smaller.

On the other hand, the men of lesser qualifications and no farming background evidently had less chance of making good than those whose doubtful qualifications were somewhat offset by long-time farming experience. Thus, it makes for a correct forecast if low ratings on farm experience, when combined with justifiably low ratings on industry and character, yield a low total rating. In this way much of the superiority of the total ratings over those for farm experience is explained, despite the fact that the high industry and character ratings of the good non-farming prospects, because of the great prevalence of high ratings on these criteria, could not offset the lack of a rating for their particular strong points.

Summarizing, it may be said that, of the four initial sub-ratings, only the one on former farming experience shows a definite correlation with the quality of the selected applicants as revealed later by their activities on the homesteads. The other three show but a slight correlation. This is especially true of the sub-ratings on industry and character, because of the fact that in cases of doubt high ratings were given. On the other hand, the few low ratings on these criteria later proved to be largely justified.

The four sub-ratings combined into an initial total rating, however, correlate relatively well with the quality of the applicants as evidenced by the final ratings. Since the four criteria are such that the effectiveness of each of them in contributing to later success in homesteading depends on the presence or the absence of the others, this was to be expected. Moreover, the value of the total ratings in forecasting success is raised above the value of the ratings for the individual criteria by the fact that the group of applicants included a fairly large proportion of good prospects from non-farming occupations. Their strong points, namely business sense and mental alertness, could be expressed in only a very limited way by the scheme of the four sub-ratings. Their presence actually disturbs the correlation of the rating on farm experience. However, the procedure of added ratings minimizes this defect when the sub-ratings are added.

The selection method of the Bureau of Reclamation therefore appears to be a fairly satisfactory instrument for forecasting the future success of a prospect, provided it is used by a reasonable selection board. The board working at Tule Lake in 1927 evidently did a particularly good job in reducing the statements on former farming experience, exaggerated in many cases, to reasonable proportions. Hampered by a lack of acquaintance

with the applicants and by unreliable references, it did not function equally well on the "industry" and "character" ratings. With respect to these two items, the method requires substantial improvement. It would be advisable also to add ratings on business ability and, perhaps, on general intelligence. A close check on the statements concerning capital seems indispensable, and information from the Bureau indicates that progress has in the meantime been made in this direction. These improvements may reasonably be expected to enhance the accuracy of a forecasting procedure which already has proven fairly satisfactory. 18/

18/ It had been planned to check the justification of the final ratings by some objective measure of individual achievement. The ratio of present to initial net worth, or the difference between the two, seemed to provide such a yardstick. Data on the present net worth of the homesteaders still operating were therefore collected and set in relation to the net worth of the same individuals as declared in their application blanks. However, the data proved to be too much influenced by factors other than individual efficiency to serve as a useful yardstick of achievement. Initial declarations were often unreliable, present ones disturbed by over-optimism or over-pessimism as to present land values. The present net worth includes the value of the land grant of the Government, while the initial one does not. This makes for distortion, since the value of the homestead, due to differences in size and soil quality, was unequal to begin with and has since been differentiated by road and marketing developments not ascribable to individual effort. Differences in expenditure for education of children, and for maintenance and restoration of health are considerable; so are losses suffered from crop failure and other major accidents. However, the data collected, if not appropriate to measure the variation of individual effort, throw some light on the enormous variation of economic success caused by all these factors in combination. The initial and present net worth in 54 individual cases where such data could be collected is therefore given in List III p.83. The range of variation in the ratio of present to initial net worth is from 16.11 to 0.30, with 46 percent of the cases showing ratios between 2.00 and 4.00. It was tested, furthermore, whether the contribution of individual efficiency toward financial success would show up at all in a comparison of this success with the final ratings. For this purpose, 4 homesteaders with unusually small or large holdings were excluded and the remainder of 50 arrayed (1) by net worth ratio, (2) by net worth difference, (3) by absolute net worth in 1936. The final ratings were computed for each successive group of 5 and 10 in all three of these arrays (Table 25). The result is that, despite all disturbing factors mentioned above, there is a clear correlation between each of the three measures and the final ratings. It is somewhat stronger when the absolute net worth of 1936 or the differences between net worth in 1936 and 1927, than when the ratio of net worth in 1936 to 1927, is used. This apparently indicates that the final ratings were not quite just in appraising the obstacles facing the man with small resources.

The data on present net worth in both presentations are based on the homesteaders' own declarations, with some adjustments necessitated by flagrant inconsistencies in statements of neighbors as to the value of their land.

Initial Ratings as Related to Later Stability of Settlers

The following analysis is concerned with the degree to which family selection tended to insure stability on the project. Previous investigations have ascertained that, prior to the introduction of family selection, the turnover of families on Federal reclamation projects had been considerable. 19/

In part, instability was caused by the fact that many settlers had insufficient resources and experience to develop the farm units to full productive power. Partly it resulted from the invitation to speculation inherent in all homesteading. These two sources of instability differ fundamentally in nature. While the first one will become particularly active under unfavorable natural and marketing conditions, the reverse is true for the second.

From the standpoint of this study, it is important that the selection method employed by the Bureau of Reclamation was devised primarily for cutting off the first source of turnover, which is largely contingent upon poor qualifications as a farmer. With the second, which is entirely compatible with being a good farmer and desirable citizen, it made no attempt to cope. It is noteworthy that, because of the splendid natural conditions of the Tule Lake Division, the second source - speculative spirit - was the much more powerful incentive to turnover on this project.

Of 136 families 20/ whose records were used in this study only 66, or 48.5 percent, still owned and operated their homesteads in 1936. In this figure are included a number of families who at some time had leased their homesteads for one or several years because of particular reasons such as temporary illness or absences enforced by family reasons. But none of these leased habitually and all are to be considered as owner-operators. Seventeen homesteaders, or 12.5 percent, have made leasing a habitual practice. Some of these reside on the project, others do not and never did after "proving up." The remaining 53 homesteaders, or 39.0 percent, no longer own their homesteads (Table 22).

Thus, the purpose of securing stable owner-operator families for the homesteads has been achieved in less than one-half of the cases. Even while the survey was being made, further sales, stimulated by rising land prices, were being effected.

19/ Robson, Laura, Are Project Settlers Permanent? Reclamation Record, V. 10, No. 4, April 1919, p. 168. A survey made in 1919 on six typical Federal reclamation projects revealed that only 65.2 percent of all families who had settled on the project were still on their homesteads in 1919.

20/ This figure is exclusive of 4 homesteaders who have died in the meantime, and of 2 others whose records on initial ratings were lacking.

The sales were not distributed over the period uniformly. A major peak was reached in 1935 when the rising demand for farms elicited more favorable offers. The number and distribution of sales by length of stay on the project follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Length of Stay</u> (years)	<u>Number of Sales</u>
1928	1	1
1929	2	2
1930	3	6
1931	4	-
1932	5	4
1933	6	6
1934	7	8
1935	8	18
1936	9	<u>8</u>
		53

The figure for 1936 is incomplete since the survey was taken in October and November of that year. At that time three farmers of the group were offering their homesteads openly on the market.

Table 6 relates the initial ratings given by the selection board and three degrees of stability. The first one is represented by the settlers who at the end of 1936 were still owner-operators (group A), the second by those who were habitual lessors (group B), and the third by those former owners who had sold their farms between 1927 and 1936 (group C). Because of the separate and unpredictable development in the sheep and stock business, the sheepmen and stockmen are excluded from each group. These figures constitute the best basis of comparisons and will be used exclusively in the following analysis. 21/

Correlation between the initial ratings and stability is completely missing. 22/ The highest ratings (95-100) had been received by 36 percent of group A, 35 percent of group B, and 35 percent of group C. 23/ Fifty-seven percent of the homesteaders in group A received total ratings of 90-100, as compared to 53 percent and 59 percent for corresponding members of groups B and C respectively. The variation of percentages from group to group is but little greater for the initial ratings below 90. The total ratings, therefore, did not serve the purpose of forecasting the stability of the settlers. However, they were probably not devised for that purpose. There may have been a vague belief that stability and

21/ See Table 22, covering all 136 cases.

22/ A significance test showed that the extremely slight variation in stability between the groups with high and low initial ratings was almost certainly due to sampling fluctuation.

23/ In evaluating these percentages one must remember that they refer to totals of far less than 100. In group B, for instance, a difference in frequency between 3 and 4 cases means a difference in percentage between 18 and 24.

Table 6.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927 and 1928 and later stability, 121 Tule Lake homesteaders ^{1/}

Initial ratings	Number of cases				Percentage distribution			
	Total	Owner-operators: (group A)	Habitual lessors: (group B)	Former owners: (group C)	Total	Owner-operators: (group A)	Habitual lessors: (group B)	Former owners: (group C)
Total	121	58	17	46	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total rating:								
70 - 75	4	2	-	2	3.3	3.5	-	4.4
75.01 - 80	7	3	1	3	5.8	5.2	5.9	6.5
80.01 - 85	14	6	4	4	11.6	10.3	23.5	8.7
85.01 - 90	27	14	3	10	22.3	24.1	17.6	21.7
90.01 - 95	26	12	3	11	21.5	20.7	17.6	23.9
95.01 - 100	43	21	6	16	35.5	36.2	35.4	34.8
Farming experience:								
15 - 17.5	26	12	3	11	21.5	20.7	17.6	23.9
17.51 - 20	27	13	3	11	22.3	22.4	17.6	23.9
20.01 - 22.5	15	9	2	4	12.4	15.5	11.8	8.7
22.51 - 25	53	24	9	20	43.8	41.4	53.0	43.5
Capital:								
15 - 17.5	28	13	5	10	23.1	22.4	29.4	21.8
17.51 - 20	11	6	2	3	9.1	10.3	11.8	6.5
20.01 - 22.5	17	8	2	7	14.1	13.8	11.8	15.2
22.51 - 25	65	31	8	26	53.7	53.5	47.0	56.5
Industry:								
15 - 17.5	5	4	1	-	4.1	6.9	5.9	-
17.51 - 20	11	3	3	5	9.1	5.2	17.7	10.9
20.01 - 22.5	5	3	-	2	4.1	5.2	-	4.3
22.51 - 25	100	48	13	39	82.7	82.7	76.4	84.8
Character:								
15 - 17.5	1	1	-	-	.8	1.7	-	-
17.51 - 20	5	-	-	5	4.1	-	-	10.9
20.01 - 22.5	2	-	1	1	1.7	-	5.9	2.2
22.51 - 25	113	57	16	40	93.4	98.3	94.1	86.9

^{1/} Exclusive of sheepmen and stockmen.

quality would go together. This may perhaps be correct to some extent on poor projects where people leave because they cannot make good, but not on projects like Tule Lake where they make too good to resist the prices offered for the developed farms.

A similar lack of correlation exists between stability and the partial ratings on farming experience, capital, industry, and character.

The percentage of those who scored highest on farming experience was 41 in group A as against 44 in group C, and 53 percent in group B, the group which perhaps represents the least desirable development of the three. Correspondingly, the percentages of lowest ratings on this qualification are 21 in group A as against 24 in group C and 18 in group B.

The distribution of the settlers by capital ratings shows the same picture of uniformity throughout the three stability groups. The analysis of the industry and character ratings of the three groups yields approximately the same result. But it shows once again that the selection board usually was on the right track in those few cases where it felt compelled to rate an individual low. We have seen above that almost all of the applicants who were rated below 20 on industry, character, or both, later turned out to be mediocre or poor farmers, and some of them made very poor citizens. (See Table 19.) Although stability and high quality, or mobility and low quality, do not coincide, the data reveal that of those rated low on industry and character almost all were homesteaders whose inferior quality actually led them to give up their homesteads or to lease them out habitually. Of the 16 who were rated 20 or less on industry, 5 left and 4 became habitual lessors. Of the 6 rated 20 or less on character, 5 left the project (Table 6).

All this suggests that there were men of sound judgment on the selection board who would have been capable of rating the entire group much more accurately even on the difficult subjects of character and industry had the selection procedure provided a chance to get acquainted with the applicants and to secure more detailed and reliable reference material.

It may be said in summarizing that, in the instance investigated, there is no correlation whatsoever between farming experience and capital on one hand and stability on the other. A reasonable relationship between industry and character and later stability exists only insofar as the selection board, in a few cases, dared to give low ratings on the basis of strong evidence.

It is obvious that the addition of the four sub-ratings which are almost entirely unrelated to later stability must yield total ratings for which the same is true. If persons who received the lowest ratings in selection had been excluded because of abundance of applications, the future turnover would not have been reduced. Therefore, if the selection procedure had been intended as a tool for forecasting the stability of the homesteader population, it would have proved to be useless.

Chapter IV

VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS AS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLERS

As a by-product of the preceding analysis the following tables are offered. They do not strictly pertain to a discussion of the value of the selection procedure, but they may serve to provide additional information about the role of farming experience in selection. In reading these tables it must be remembered (1) that all of the homesteaders, whether they were farmers or non-farmers at selection time, were required to meet a minimum standard of farming experience; (2) that the non-farmers, whose number approximately equalled that of the farmers, were scattered among the latter in such a way as to give them ample opportunity to observe the agricultural practices which the farmers employed; and (3) that the highly commercialized farming on the Tule Lake Division calls for business ability and general alertness as much as for purely agricultural technique.

Although these circumstances might be expected to enhance the chances of success of the settlers with predominantly non-farming background, it is surprising to find that these persons not only equalled but slightly surpassed the achievements of those whose former occupations had been entirely agricultural. The distribution of the various occupational groups over the classes of good, mediocre, and bad homesteaders reveals a slight superiority of the professional men, the tradesmen and clerks, and the laborers over the farmers (Tables 7-A and 7-B). The few sheepmen, because they combined a lack of farming experience with a lack of general education, make an especially unsatisfactory showing. This is true for both success and effort, with the modification that the superiority of the professional men and the inferiority of the sheepmen are even more pronounced for effort than for success. The professional men, and to some degree the other non-farm groups, easily surpass the farmers in social standing. The low social ranking of the sheepmen stands out in the figures of these tables.

Tables 8-A and 8-B are of special interest in connection with soldiers' preference rights. The veterans received very satisfactory scores for success and effort, and their percentage of first-rate men materially exceeded their percentage of the total number of homesteaders. They rated especially well on social standing. Whereas the veterans constituted only 42 percent of the total number of settlers, they comprised fully two-thirds of the leading personalities (those rated "1" on social standing) and over 70 percent of the relatively small number who were simultaneously first-rate farmers and public-spirited citizens. 24/ To some extent this result is due to the fact that most of the veterans are of an age which allows the union of full productive force and experience, whereas the civilian group contains a number of men too young to be experienced or too

24/ This figure is derived from a tabulation of combined ratings not given here for lack of space.

Table 7-A.- Former occupations of 132 homesteaders, classified by final ratings 1/

Former occupation	Percentage distribution of those whose final rating on -											
	Success was:						Effort was:					
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Farmers and stockmen	50	46	56	47	48	65	49	51	37	51	61	
Farm laborers	2	-	5	-	-	-	5	4	-	4	-	
Sheepmen	9	5	11	20	3	14	14	8	-	8	22	
Professional men	8	10	7	7	11	-	7	5	26	5	-	
Tradesmen and clerks	11	15	5	13	15	14	5	11	15	11	4	
Laborers and handicraftsmen	20	24	16	13	23	7	20	21	22	21	13	

1/ Four women excluded.

Table 7-B.- Final ratings of 132 homesteaders, classified by former occupations 1/

Former occupation	Percentages of occupational group whose final rating on -											
	Success was:						Effort was:					
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Farmers and stockmen	100	42	47	11	44	14	42	15	64	21		
Farm laborers	100	-	100	-	-	-	100	-	100	-		
Sheepmen	100	25	50	25	17	17	66	-	58	42		
Professional men	100	55	36	9	64	-	36	64	36	-		
Tradesmen and clerks	100	64	22	14	64	14	22	29	64	7		
Laborers and handicraftsmen	100	58	34	8	54	4	42	23	65	12		

1/ Four women excluded.

Table 8-A.- Service status of 132 homesteaders, classified by final ratings 1/

Service status	Total	Percentage distribution of those whose final rating on -									
		Success was:					Effort was:				
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	Social standing was:
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Veterans	42	52	30	46	51	30	57	67	38	30	30
Civilians:											
Total	58	48	70	54	49	70	43	33	62	70	70
26 to 49 years of age, excluding sheepmen	33	30	38	27	31	39	14	29	33	35	35
All other	25	18	32	27	18	31	29	4	29	35	35

1/ Four women excluded.

Table 8-B.- Final ratings of 132 homesteaders, classified by service status 1/

Service status	Total	Percentages of service status group whose final rating on -									
		Success was:					Effort was:				
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	Social standing was:
Veterans	100	57	30	13	56	30	14	32	55	13	13
Civilians:											
Total	100	38	51	11	39	53	8	12	67	21	21
26 to 49 years of age, excluding sheepmen	100	42	49	9	44	51	5	19	62	19	19
All other	100	33	55	12	33	55	12	3	73	24	24

1/ Four women excluded.

old to be highly efficient. Moreover, the sheepmen depress the civilians' level in farming as well as in social standing. But even when these factors are eliminated, the veterans remain somewhat superior, especially with respect to their standing in the community.

There seems to be a contradiction between the statements that farming experience is correlated with later success and that the non-farmers were even slightly more successful than the farmers. It might be supposed that the selection board, impressed by the high level of the non-farmers, rated alleged farming experience so high in these cases that all conclusions based on the correlation between farming experience and final ratings might be illusory.

But Table 9 shows that this is not the case. Although a number of non-farmers received relatively high ratings on farming experience, the group in general was rated considerably lower than the farmers. Separate tabulation of the success of farmers and non-farmers with different ratings on farm experience proves beyond doubt the considerable significance of farming experience. Correlation for both groups is strong, although with restrictions that are at variance for the two groups. The farmers whose experience was not considered to be worth much became for the most part mediocre homesteaders, while those farmers in whose experience much confidence was placed were disappointing in many instances. On the contrary, the non-farmers who received low scores in many cases turned out to

Table 9.- Relation between initial ratings on farming experience and final ratings on success, for farmers and non-farmers

		Final rating on success							
Initial rating on	Total	:	:	:	:	:	:		
farming experience	number	:	1	2	3	:	1	2	3
	:	:	Number			:	Percent		
Farmers: <u>1/</u>									
15 - 20	22	5	13	4	23	59	18		
20.01 - 22.5	7	3	3	1	43	43	14		
22.51 - 25	37	20	15	2	54	41	5		
Totals	66	28	31	7	42	47	11		
Non-farmers:									
15 - 20	28	13	12	3	46	43	11		
20.01 - 22.5	5	3	1	1	60	20	20		
22.51 - 25	18	14	3	1	78	17	5		
Totals	51	30	16	5	59	31	10		

1/ Excluding farm laborers and sheepmen.

be excellent homesteaders, while those who had, or were supposed to have, considerable experience made a brilliant success in an overwhelming majority of cases.

These are strong indications that previous farming experience of a non-farmer, although it may have been short, was a highly desirable though by no means irreplaceable asset. On the other hand, long years of farming in the case of a man who had never done anything else in his life, while much less valuable, was almost indispensable to give him any chance of succeeding on a highly commercial project like Tule Lake.

It can be said with confidence, therefore, that farming experience is a powerful factor in determining success. But it can be replaced by other qualifications, such as general intelligence, adaptability, and business sense, under conditions where non-farmers are not settled in a group by themselves but are interspersed among old farmers from whom they can learn the technicalities of farming, and where the selection method calls for a minimum of experience. Correspondingly, farming experience alone is no guarantee against failure.

On the other hand, no relationship exists between former occupation and stability on the project. Farmers and non-farmers contributed almost identical percentages of operating (Group A), leasing (Group B), and selling (Group C) homesteaders (Table 10).

Table 10.- Relation between former occupation and stability

Occupational group	:	:	:	:	
	:	Total	Group A	Group B	Group C
	:	:	:	:	:
<hr/>					
			<u>Number</u>		
Farm group, total	81	40	9	32	
Farm group, excluding sheepmen	69	35	9	25	
Non-farm group	51	24	7	20	
<hr/>					
			<u>Percent</u>		
Farm group, total	100	49	11	40	
Farm group, excluding sheepmen	100	51	13	36	
Non-farm group	100	47	14	39	
<hr/>					

Thus, admission of applicants formerly engaged in non-farm occupations did not jeopardize stability, while at the same time it enhanced the success of the project.

Chapter V

REASONS FOR INSTABILITY ON THE PROJECT

The preceding chapter has shown that stability or instability does not coincide with the success or failure of the homesteaders on the project. ^{25/} This is substantiated by the 1936 ratings on success, effort, and social standing given to owner-operators, habitual lessors, and former owners (Table 11).

Table 11.- Relation between final ratings and stability

Item	Number of cases whose rating on -									
	Success was:			Effort was:			Social standing was:			
	Total:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Owner-operators (Group A)	66	40	26	-	39	26	1	17	43	6
Habitual lessors (Group B)	17	5	10	2	6	7	4	2	8	7
Former owners (Group C)	53	17	22	14	17	26	10	8	34	11
Totals	136	62	58	16	62	59	15	27	85	24

If the success and effort ratings for each individual are combined into an index of quality as a farmer, the distribution is as shown in Table 12.

Table 12.- Relation between quality as a farmer and stability

Item	Total	Good	Average	Bad
		farmers <u>1/</u>	farmers <u>2/</u>	farmers <u>3/</u>
Owner-operators (Group A)	66	44	21	1
Habitual lessors (Group B)	17	8	6	3
Former owners (Group C)	53	21	18	14
Totals	136	73	45	18

1/ Good farmers: ratings on effort and success higher than 2.

2/ Average farmers: ratings on effort and success 2 or 2-.

3/ Bad farmers; ratings on effort and success less than 2-.

25/ A detailed tabulation on the relation between initial ratings on one hand, and quality (expressed by final ratings on effort) and stability combined, on the other hand, is given in Tables 23 and 24.

According to Table 12, the process of elimination through sale of the homesteads removed almost all of the bad farmers and more than one-third of the average ones, but it also eliminated more than one-fourth of the good farmers.

Any adequate explanation of the large total of sales, especially by the good farmers, must include a consideration of the conditions and reasons in the background of these transactions.

Background Factors of General Importance

Two basic features tended to increase the volume of sales. In the first place, the farms are homesteads, that is, grants comprising 40 to 80 acres of first-rate land. After a few years, or sometimes only 1 year, of effort spent on development, ^{26/} such a farm can be sold with a profit of several thousand dollars. Second, in order to avoid excessive requirements of capital and labor during the development stage, homesteads are frequently laid out in sizes too small to employ the operator's full energy when normal farming conditions ensue. This was particularly true for most of the Tule Lake units opened in 1927.

These two factors in combination tended to effect the transfer of farms from homesteaders of the speculative type to those of the more stable type as soon as the initial development was completed. Whereas the stable settlers of the home-making kind were eager to expand their holdings, speculative individuals liked to cash in on their previous efforts. Such transfers were facilitated by the fact that the latter had usually abstained from building expensive dwellings, thereby saving the buyer with a residence on his original holding the expense of buying a second good house.

In the case investigated, the eagerness to sell far exceeded the demand from other homesteaders. Out of 48 homesteads sold by members of the 1927 group for which records on the buyers could be obtained, 15, or 31 percent, went to other homesteaders, while 33, or 69 percent, were sold to newcomers to the project. All of the 17 members of this same group who expanded their property by buying a second or third homestead in addition to their original ones did so by buying out fellow-homesteaders.

As the law forbids the purchase of a second homestead until after the construction charges on the first are paid, it is customary to buy in the name of the wife or some other member of the family. Twelve of the 17 purchases of additional homesteads were transacted in this way. Consequently, today many of the surviving homesteaders own several units in the same neighborhood. Even more frequently it happened that, as soon as

^{26/} Both effort and capital outlay required are not excessive on the Tule Lake Division, due to the level topography of the land and the absence of sagebrush.

a person's intention to sell became known, his neighbor would urge a relative to settle near him. Thus, clusters of homesteads belonging to different members of the same family have been formed through later purchases. (Sales have become less frequent of late, preference being given to leasing contracts, because many farmers hesitate to buy at the present high land prices.)

As a result, a conspicuous differentiation of property and income among the remaining members of the group has taken place. From the beginning, some homesteaders were better off economically than others either because they owned outside property or because they held a job with the Reclamation Service or elsewhere. Buying and renting of other homesteads further widened the range. Finally, some homesteaders obtained additional income through business enterprises, and others participated in the very advantageous operation of the Government lease land, commonly reserved for large owners. Thus, in 1936 the economic resources of those members of Group A for whom records could be obtained varied as shown in Table 13.

Table 13.- Economic basis of 58 owner-operator homesteaders in 1936

Economic basis	Number
Total	58
Own and operate one homestead - total	35
No other steady income	25
Other steady income	2
Sheep or stock business	2
Job with Reclamation Bureau	5
Rent another homestead	1
Own and operate two homesteads - total	13
No other steady income	9
Other steady income	1
Sheep or stock business	1
Rent another homestead	2 <u>1</u> / ₂
Own and operate three homesteads - total	1
No other steady income	1
Own and operate homesteads and other land - total	9
One homestead and farm not on project	6 <u>2</u> / ₃
One homestead, operate lease land	1
Two homesteads, operate lease land	1
Three homesteads, operate lease land	1

1/ One homesteader in partnership with brother.

2/ Two of these homesteaders do not operate the other farm.

Table 14.- Final ratings and former occupations of 58 homesteaders operating various numbers of farm units

	Number	Average final ratings			Former occupation			Service status		
		1.62	1.60	1.81	18	3	4	9	9	25
Homesteaders operating	34	1.62	1.60	1.81	18	3	4	9	9	25
Without lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.70	1	-	-	-	-	1
With lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.70	1	-	-	-	-	1
Two farms	18	1.29	1.29	1.69	11	1	3	3	8	10
Without lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	-	-	-	1	-	1
With lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	-	-	-	1	-	1
Three farms	3	1.00	1.00	1.23	2	-	1	-	1	2
Without lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	-	-	-	1	1	-
With lease land	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	-	-	-	1	1	-
Total	58	1.45	1.44	1.71	32	4	8	14	19	39

According to Table 13, only 25 of the 58 settlers for whom records were obtained relied exclusively on one homestead. Ten others owning one homestead (including the two sheepmen whose holdings merely supplemented their main business) enlarged their income by some activity or device, and 7 others who possessed only one homestead either had farms off the project or operated lease land. Sixteen owned more than one homestead. It was mentioned before that the shift from alfalfa and grain to potato growing and the mechanization of farm power probably contributed to this development.

The superior efficiency which presumably would be associated with those who operate more than one unit is indicated also by the better final ratings of these men (Table 14). The table shows, moreover, that the operation of several units by one individual is not restricted to a particular occupational group. Finally, it testifies again to the superiority of the veterans.

Other factors, less tangible than speculation and size of farms, tended to increase the mobility of the population on the project. Today the homesteaders generally recognize that the Tule Lake Division is a "gold mine" and that they were very fortunate to stumble more or less blindly upon such an opportunity. This feeling may have been particularly strong when the survey was made in the fall of 1936, for a big potato crop had just been harvested and was selling at high prices, due to drought in other areas. However, satisfaction with the fertility of the land is constantly clouded by a fear that alkali may come up. This fear lends the atmosphere a peculiar tinge of "take what you can today." At the same time, it is recognized that the practices arising from this very attitude may precipitate the dreaded event. Complaints are being made about the excessive growing of potatoes during the last years, for it is feared that the heavy irrigation required by potatoes, and the resultant occasional over-irrigation, may hasten the appearance of alkali. Most of the farmers believe that the alkali danger can be controlled through proper drainage endeavors, both by the Reclamation Service and by individual farmers, but others express great concern. Some farmers in the northeastern section, where the danger is especially acute, sold their homesteads for this reason. One case occurred during the writer's stay on the project. Apparently, certain farmers, transferring to the Tule Lake Division from other Reclamation projects damaged by alkali, are spreading this fear among the other homesteaders. Such a situation of course will be attractive to commercially-minded people who have no sentimental attachment to the soil and who do not think in terms of making a permanent home or of leaving the farm to their children. "People here want to make as much money as possible and get out," the writer was told by a man who for many years has been in close daily contact with homesteaders.

But soil fertility and the danger of alkali do not alone account for this attitude. In contrast to the adjoining areas to the north, east, and west, the site of the Tule Lake project lacks scenic charm. It is

absolutely level, though surrounded by bare hills on three sides. Since without irrigation there is no vegetation except saltgrass and other dry weeds, the area presents a rather desolate view. Usually a few shade trees are grown around the farm houses, but on the newer homesteads they are small and often they are entirely missing. Vegetable and flower gardens are scarce, for the women, finding it difficult to perform the labor of irrigating, attempt gardening only when their husbands are interested enough to assist them. In this respect, the older Bohemian settlement around Malin compares very favorably with the Tule Lake Division not only because it is older (the settlers having come in 1909-10), but because the Bohemians brought with them the European peasant's love for trees and flowers.

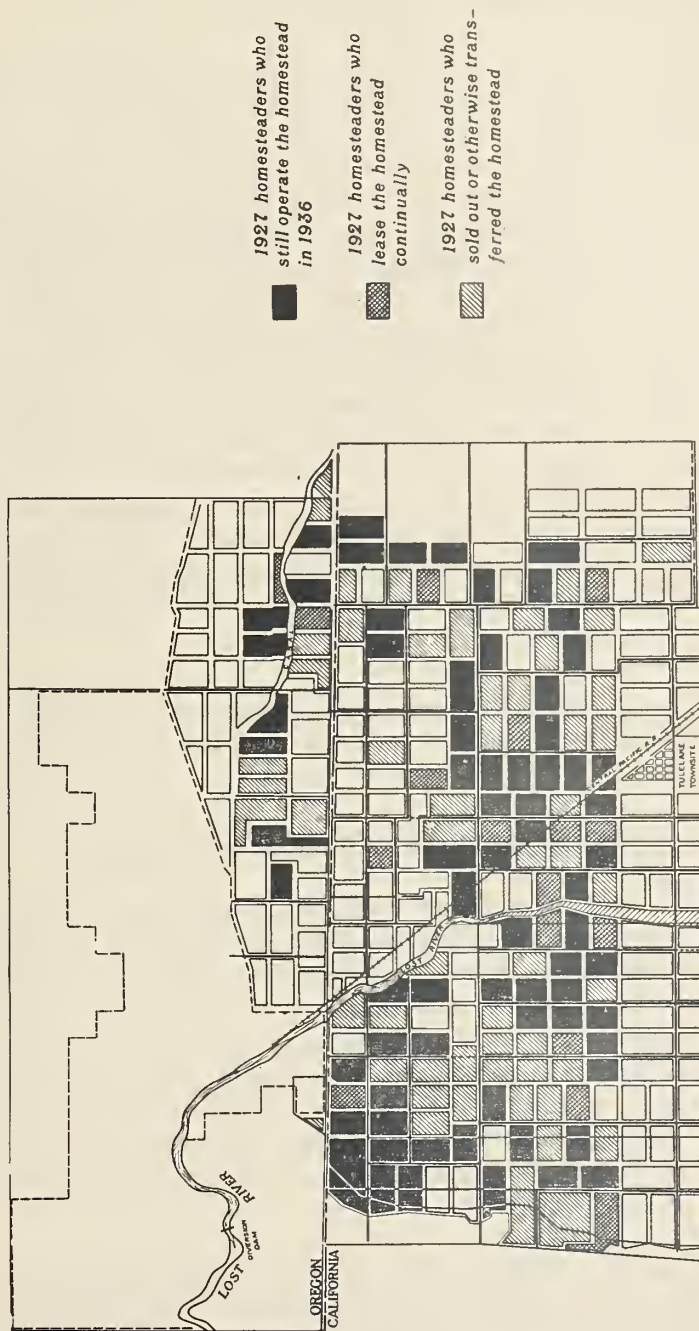
Excessive dust, caused by the powdery quality of the soil, is another reason for complaint. All year round, the fine, gray dust penetrates through windows and doors, to the despair of the women, who find it impossible to keep their houses clean. Also, the seeds are in danger of being blown out during the storms that are not uncommon in this area during planting season.

Moreover, the eastern part of the project, including the 2-year-old town of Tulelake, does not possess its own supply of drinking water. The water obtained from wells on the individual farms is so heavily alkaline that it is hardly usable for washing dishes and scrubbing floors. One swallow may occasion serious indigestion for several days. Therefore, all the drinking water is hauled to the project in milk cans by the Southern Pacific Railroad. An attempt is being made to solve the problem by the drilling of a 2,000-foot well in the town of Tulelake. But at present, the water trouble is a serious inconvenience which contributes heavily to the "cash in and leave" attitude.

It is very interesting to notice, in this connection, a striking difference both in outward appearance and in mental attitude between the western and eastern sections of the Division. Socially and economically, the Tule Lake Division is split into two distinct parts, the "West Side" and the "East Side." The former Lost River, now a drainage ditch crossed by two bridges, forms the borderline. The West Side tends to trade with Merrill, the East Side with the Bohemian town of Malin and, more recently, with the rapidly developing Tulelake, which is located in its center.

The West Side farmers are the "aristocracy" of the project. For some years social life in this section has been firmly integrated, centering around a very active women's club and a public school built by the donations and labor of the homesteaders. Although the high school for the entire Division and the Legion Hall are located in Tulelake, and although the East Side has a booming social life of its own with many clubs and community activities (but no public school building yet), life on the West Side seems far more settled and economic development more advanced. Many more attractive permanent farm houses have been constructed in this section, whereas the East Side farmers still live for the most part in the

TULE LAKE DIVISION OF THE KLAMATH IRRIGATION PROJECT



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32970

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIG. 3.- HOMESTEADS OPERATED, CONTINUALLY LEASED, AND SOLD ON THE TULE LAKE DIVISION OF THE KLAMATH IRRIGATION PROJECT (STATUS, FALL OF 1936, OF HOMESTEADS OPENED FOR ENTRY IN 1927)

primitive homestead shacks characteristic of the early period of a reclamation settlement. To the present, the turnover of homesteads on the West Side has been almost as rapid as on the East Side, but it may be considerably smaller in the future (Fig. 3).

The reasons for this notable difference are not easy to ascertain. The land is not appreciably better than most of that on the East Side. The saltgrass problem bothers West Side farmers exclusively. The farms on the average are even smaller than on the East Side. But probably the cleverest applicants applied for West Side homesteads because they were nearer the road to town or because they comprised slightly better land and were threatened less by the danger of alkali. The remark of one West Side woman seems to provide a further key: "We have excellent water, a wonderful school, and the hills protect us from the winds." The supply of good water and the protection against dust storms unquestionably make living on the West Side much more pleasant. Therefore, settlers are more likely to consider the farm as a permanent home, to plan for the future, to build more durable houses, and to develop community institutions that will, in their turn, tie them to the land. The difference between the two sections of the project thus seems to demonstrate that natural factors like water and wind, though affecting economic opportunities but little, can be of considerable importance in framing the attitude of a population toward a given locality.

This may serve to characterize the background on which develop the special motives of the individual families for leaving, leasing, and expanding.

Individual Reasons for Sales of Homesteads

An attempt was made to ascertain the individual reasons for the selling or habitual leasing of homesteads by questioning the former neighbors of the respective families. This was not done by using a schedule listing typical reasons, but by eliciting tales "in free style." Later, the reasons given in these tales were systematized. This procedure necessarily led to some overlapping in the resulting list; but leading questions were avoided and therefore little violence was done to reality. Thus, the list of reasons for homesteader instability, as compiled for presentation here, is just as much a result of direct investigation as the frequencies that are entered.

Table 15-A gives the reasons for selling, thus ascertained, for the 55 individual families who had left the project. The principal reason was derived from a comparison of the comments of several farmers on each case.

According to these figures, sales prompted by "speculation," outside interests (farming or otherwise), indebtedness, inefficient farming, and marital trouble were outstanding numerically.

Table 15-A.- Frequency of reasons for sales of homesteads 1/

Reason	: One reason : ; among others :	Principal reason
Sale for speculation	24	7
Poor land	4	3
Old age	1	0
Poor health, man	4	4
Poor health, wife	2	2
Dislike of country, man	5	0
Dislike of country, wife	3	0
Other farming interests	7	1
Other trade or professional interests	8	6
Lack of capital	7	0
Indebtedness	11	5
Poor farmer	15	4
No farming experience	9	3
No interest in farming	6	0
Laziness	7	0
Lack of general education	1	0
Drinking	5	3
Gambling	1	0
Marital trouble	12	6
Wife dissatisfied	4	2
Bachelor	5	0
Other family reasons	6	6
Other reasons	3	3
Total		55

(For detail, see Appendix, p. 81)

1/ Including 2 transfers to family members, listed under "other family reasons."

"Sale for speculation," a term constantly recurring in the neighbors' comments, means that the individual took a good price when it was offered, rather than that he settled on the homestead with speculative purposes exclusively in mind. In fact, of only a few homesteaders did neighbors remark, "He never intended to stay." When they did, their judgment was based usually upon the kind of house the settler had built. Instead, "sale for speculation" often implied that the individual in question was footloose, that he struck no roots on the project, in short, that he was not of the homemaking type. In this, however, he did not differ from many others still on the project who are only waiting for favorable offers. In several cases, the price at which the sale had been concluded was mentioned with deep respect, and any other explanation for the sale was deemed superfluous. One person, not a homesteader but a resident thoroughly familiar with the mental atmosphere of the project, expressed a widespread attitude in the words: "Anybody who does not accept a good price is a fool."

Those who sold "for speculation" were nearly all good or at least average farmers. 27/ Of the 7 reported as selling directly as a result of this incentive, 3 were outstanding farmers, 3 were average, and 1 was a bright young real estate man who had taken a homestead with speculation expressly in view. The 24 allegedly influenced by this motive, although not always decisively, comprised 11 good, 8 average, and 2 poor farmers, in addition to the realtor mentioned above, a former business man of unknown farming qualifications, and one wealthy sheepman. Thirteen were veterans; 11 were civilians. As 40 percent of the total number of homesteaders was composed of veterans, these figures indicate that this group contributed its full share of speculators. However, the oft-heard contention that "all the ex-soldiers take the homesteads on speculation," is clearly an exaggeration.

Ill health, if it is of a nature unfavorably affected by the living and working conditions on the project, usually requires no further reason to make a man give up. Here, too, speculative reasons often enter the consideration, influencing particularly the date of the final decision. Dry weather, dust, and "footcold" houses (due to the impossibility of building cellars), are factors affecting health conditions on the project. The long periods during which individuals are forced to stand in water at irrigation time, often at night when they are tired or exhausted, are likewise physically trying. According to the general opinion, the dry climate offsets the disadvantages of the dust and is actually beneficial as far as diseases of the respiratory tract are concerned. But with regard to many other ailments, existent conditions are definitely deleterious. 28/

Other interests outside the project played an important part in causing settlers to leave. Two typical situations prevailed. Many of the 1927 homesteaders, particularly the civilians, were either farmers or sons of farmers and stockmen from the surrounding areas. As all of them had good cars, they maintained constant contact with their family clans living nearby. A fairly large number of these settlers came from the Bohemian settlement around Malin, where family ties are particularly close. In cases of death, especially of the father, readjustments of residence and occupation for the entire family resulted. Often the son, having inherited the paternal farm as a whole or in part, first attempted to operate it in conjunction with his original land. This frequently led to leasing

27/ Good farmers: ratings on effort and success higher than 2.

Average farmers: ratings on effort and success 2 or 2 -.

Bad farmers: ratings on effort and success less than 2 -.

28/ The author met two men with impaired health who sold out in the fall of 1936. Both were outstanding farmers and business men. They enjoyed universal respect as citizens. Both had ailments that were aggravated by conditions on the project. They grasped the opportunity to get a good price and departed for a locality with better and more congenial living conditions. Both intended to continue farming, and both owned farm property elsewhere.

and eventual selling, although in some cases both farms were managed successfully. In other instances, the son moved away, and another member of the family took over the homestead. When the father's holdings were too large or too remote to be operated from the son's homestead, sales were almost inevitable.

Another problem is presented by the men with non-farming backgrounds and interests. The ex-service applicants, particularly, included a relatively large number of sales and insurance agents, realtors, teachers, engineers, lawyers, and doctors. As set forth in Table 7, p. 31, this group has provided a larger-than-average proportion of very successful homesteaders. But a number of cases exist, especially among professional men, where individuals who filed on homesteads either retained their former occupations or intended to return to them as soon as possible. These, perhaps, represent the purest cases of speculation, of "cashing in on the homestead right." Continual leasing and eventual sales are almost invariably the outgrowth of this practice. 29/

It is easy to understand why the stable, self-operating homesteaders resent the practice of giving units to men with outside incomes. The feeling is general that such settlers are far less interested in farming and homemaking than in moneymaking.

On the other hand, the non-farm group contained a number of persons who, though serious in intention, were misfits, unadjustable to farming. This was especially true of the less educated individuals. In these cases, the attraction of the former profession, associated with a lack of farming experience which was not compensated for by interest in farming or by superior business ability, was generally cited as the first reason for leaving. Usually these persons returned to their former occupations, some having lost forever their cherished hopes of farm life and farm prosperity.

Another problem involves the acquisition of homesteads by employees of the Reclamation Service. The other settlers dislike and resent this feature most of all. The Reclamation Service naturally is interested in having some of its technical employees - such as ditch riders, dragline men, and pump-station men - live on the project, and often it finds efficient workers among the homesteaders. But in other instances employment with the Bureau preceded homesteading. These employees often work the land with hired labor, make some arrangement with another member of the family, or lease. In these cases, the homestead is merely a means for supplementing the regular income.

29/ Of course, there have been exceptions. One 1922 homesteader and his wife, who taught school for 7 years after settling on the project, finally gave up the profession to become "real dirt farmers." Today they own four homesteads, rent several others, possess town property, and constitute one of the most prosperous families on the project.

The conditions outlined above are reflected in the number of persons who left because they had other interests and in the number of those who departed because of "poor quality as a farmer" and "lack of experience or interest in farming." As far as the "other interests" group is concerned, almost all of the members were either good or average farmers, and all were respected in the community. Of the seven farmers whose outside farming interests were contributory to their leaving, not less than six had excellent ratings. Of the eight men influenced by non-farm occupations in their determination to leave, four were excellent and four were average farmers.

The cases for whom "poor farmer," "no farming experience," and "no interest in farming" were reported as reasons for leaving, consist partially of such settlers with a non-farming background as could not adjust themselves to farming. Surprisingly enough, another part consists of some who had previously been farmers (Table 7, p. 31, and Table 10, p. 34). Among the 22 persons in these classifications, there are 8 former farmers and 3 former sheepmen, aside from the 11 men who previously had followed non-agricultural occupations. All but one of the 11, a construction engineer, were non-professional persons. They include, among others, a lineman, a mason, a barber, a building contractor, a cement worker, a cook, a merchant, and a mechanic.

These figures suggest that, despite the fine showing of the non-farm group in general, every effort should be made to find out about the non-farmers' ability and serious desire to stick to a farming enterprise, particularly if their background and training do not indicate that they will learn quickly through experience, observation, or reading. With respect to an applicant's future stability, his family relationships and his off-the-homestead property holdings should be considered. A drain of good homesteaders has taken place because members of worthy farm families from the surrounding areas were given preference, while neither regulations nor any special stipulations existed to induce them to concentrate their interests on their homesteads.

In 18 cases, "lack of capital," or "indebtedness" motivated departures. Four of the five cases where these causes were decisive involved sheepmen; this group suffered most during the depression and has had the least opportunity since to recoup its losses. The disastrous decline of prices from \$11.50 per ewe in 1928 to \$2.50 in 1933 either ruined these settlers entirely or brought them to the verge of bankruptcy (Table 27). Of the four who left the project, three lost their sheep and their homesteads through foreclosure. The fourth, wealthier and shrewder than the others, saved a farm outside the Tule Lake Division and recently sold his homestead to pay off the mortgage encumbering his sheep.

It is noteworthy that those persons whose debts or lack of capital were mentioned as contributory reasons for leaving had produced at selection time net-worth statements that compared favorably with the

statements reported for the total group. Even excluding the sheepmen, whose assets in 1927 were unusually high, the average was \$7,200, with a range of between \$3,350 and \$18,200, declarations of \$5,000 to \$6,000 predominating. Obviously "padding" of assets at selection time took place on a large scale.

It is interesting to notice the differences of opinion that characterize the attitudes of the present homesteaders toward the capital requirements of the Reclamation Service. Some maintain that the man who possesses the least material resources is the most eager to make his farm a success and a permanent habitat, while the outside interests of the wealthy are not conducive to proper care of the homestead. Especially do the efficient homesteaders of humbler finances wish that preference be given to poorer applicants. Others admit that capital for developing the farm is a necessity and that being compelled to work off the homestead during the first years is undesirable.

The mean between these extremes seems to be the belief that a minimum capital limit is necessary, but that those individuals who possess more than the minimum should not be given a higher rating in consequence, certainly not beyond a limit of \$5,000. 30/ The necessity for sufficient credit facilities at reasonable terms is stressed by all, and the beneficial results of the Federal farm loans are universally and gratefully acknowledged.

Financial stringency often supplemented other reasons for leaving the project. Drinking, gambling, and especially marital trouble appeared in combination with monetary difficulties. Heavy drinking and marital trouble were perhaps the most absolute reasons causing settlers to leave the project. As a rule, habitual drunkards can remain on the project only by renting out or by drawing a veteran's pension.

It is generally recognized among the homesteaders that cooperation and interest on the part of the wife are of outstanding importance in determining a settler's success. This is true not only where the wife contributes materially to the family income, for instance, by raising poultry on a commercial scale or by growing all the vegetables needed for home use, but even where her contribution is merely of an intangible nature, consisting of an active interest in the farm and in the moral support lent to the husband in times of stress. Thus, one young and very successful Bohemian homesteader with an attractive and intelligent wife assured the writer that "the wife is 75 percent of farming success." An American with a highly efficient wife of German extraction expressed himself in similar terms. On the other hand, in almost every case where marital trouble had occurred and the settlers had left the project, the unharmonious married life was offered as a reason for the departure. The

30/ The \$5,000 limit for increasing capital ratings has since been raised to \$10,000 indiscriminately for all projects, without consideration of the particular capital requirements of each project.

single fact that a man was a bachelor or had been left by his wife was considered sufficient reason to explain the failure of an otherwise good homesteader. On the project today the older bachelor who is successful usually maintains a close relationship with another bachelor-brother or with the family of a married brother. Without such an association to provide the human contact necessary for satisfactory living in this neighborhood of scattered homes, few single men attain success.

That the wife should be satisfied with living conditions on the project is therefore most essential. It is typical that the wives found the inadequately constructed, barely furnished shacks, the dust storms, and the lack of schools and roads a tremendous trial at first, but that they eventually became reconciled to these inconveniences as they learned to appreciate the unusual opportunities offered by the fertility of the land. In certain parts of the project, complaints about the drinking water are still heard, but most of the early grievances, which had to do with school conditions and roads, have been allayed. Most wives also find the human contacts on the project to be highly satisfactory.

The relatively few wives who could not accustom themselves to the new locality, and consequently persuaded their husbands to leave, were women with an urban background. On the other hand, many well-adjusted urban wives may be found in the families still living on the project. In general, an urban background appears to create much less difficulty than is generally assumed. Intelligent and educated men can surmount that obstacle, and almost every woman with some strength of character can do likewise. For the women, especially, good health and marital harmony are prerequisites, however. An ill woman with no one to help her do the housework, or an unhappy one with no intimates to whom she can talk, is likely to loathe country life. Under such circumstances, a rural girl might carry on more easily.

Briefly, the most common types of settlers who sold their project holdings are:

- (1) The man who began homesteading with a view to selling the developed farm at a good price.

- (2) The man, relatively indifferent as to where and by what occupation he makes a living, who stays as long as he can reap good returns, and sells when a comparison of what he may reap in the future and the price offered to him now tips the balance in favor of the sale.

- (3) The man whose outside interests are stronger than his wish to homestead.

- (4) The man who is induced to sell by ill health or old age. Unless the emergency is urgent, he will often wait for a favorable offer.

(5) The man of either urban or rural background who cannot "make a go of it" because he lacks farming experience, interest in farming, or capital.

(6) The bachelor or the man with marital trouble.

(7) The man whose wife is dissatisfied and urges him to sell.

(8) The drunkard.

Obviously there are many overlappings of these types.

Individual Reasons for Habitual Leasing

Although habitual leasing of the homestead often is a step toward sale, frequently it is a convenient arrangement for holding an investment that yields a good return, or for keeping open an opportunity which, because of certain conditions, cannot be used immediately. The reasons for resorting to this kind of an arrangement are even more varied than those given for the sale of property. Their multitudinous variety resists almost any attempt at tabulation. Within the studied group, the number of cases is only 17, since all instances of temporary leasing in the past were excluded. The 17 cases listed are such that resumption of owner-operatorship would presuppose incisive changes in the present circumstances of the lessors and is therefore much less likely than an eventual sale.

If these scant figures permit a conclusion, old age and poor health apparently create a situation even more favorable to habitual leasing than to selling. The older people generally have relatives on the project or nearby. Since most of the renters are homesteaders with residences of their own, an aged lessor can lease his farm, but continue to occupy the house. Men in poor health sometimes hope to resume operations when they have recovered.

Table 15-B shows that outside farming or professional interests exerted a relatively strong influence against operating a homestead. Teachers, physicians, or farmers with other property who utilized their homestead right exclusively for "speculative reasons" often do not live on the homestead, but direct crop planning and farming operations from nearby residences.

Marital trouble, bachelorhood, and drinking likewise occur as reasons for habitual leasing. Laziness was another influential factor, indicated in 4 cases out of the 17.

Table 15-B.- Frequency of reasons for habitual leasing 1/

Reasons	: One reason : among others	: Principal : reason
Acquisition for speculation	3	1
Old age	3	3
Poor health, man	3	2
Dislike of country, wife	1	0
Other farming interests	3	2
Other trade or professional interests	4	3
Lack of capital	1	0
Poor farmer	2	0
No farming experience	0	1
No interest in farming	2	0
Laziness	4	0
Lack of general education	1	0
Drinking	3	1
Gambling	1	1
Marital trouble	2	1
Bachelor	3	0
Wife dissatisfied	1	1
Other family reasons	1	0
Other reasons	2	1
Total		17

1/ For detail, see Appendix p. 82.

Chapter VI

REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THOSE WHO REMAIN

Six weeks on the project and about 70 interviews with individual families gave the writer ample opportunity to observe the characteristics of the more successful and respected as well as of the less satisfactory families on the project. It seems that among the successful ones two more or less distinct types are discernible, which we would like to call the "farmer type" 31/ and the "speculative" or "capitalistic type."

By "farmer type" is meant the man who has a natural inclination for country life, dislikes living in the city, bends every effort to develop his farm, and takes pride in the growth and betterment of his home, his land, his stock, and his family. The emphasis in his effort is on physical work, his financial ambitions are modest, reaching not much farther than that the farm should provide a decent living. Often he is a family man, who is not deeply interested in club meetings, feeling that the effort required for active participation in community work might be spent more effectively on his own farm. Consequently, if he participates in community life at all, it is mainly in a social way. Homesteaders of this type are relatively numerous on the Tule Lake Division because of the admixture of foreign-born elements in the 1927-28 group. The Bohemians, together with the few Germans and Swedes, tend to fall within this category. These settlers cling to their homesteads and want their children to grow up there. They seem, therefore, to be the ideal human material on which to base a settlement policy aiming at a strengthening of the rural sector of the population.

The capitalistic type, on the other hand, is represented by the man who considers the homestead primarily as an opportunity to get a good return from an investment. He may contemplate residing on the project for the minimum number of months required, spending a minimum amount of effort, and then cashing in on the homestead right.

Again he may invest his savings in the homestead and may farm in earnest, wishing to buy or rent more land, to expand into other lines of business or to acquire town property, all with the eventual object of leaving the farm for a pleasanter and less strenuous life. The speculative homesteader is always on the verge of selling, for he is constantly comparing the present and probable future returns of farming with the possible profits he might make in another locality or business. The land has no sentimental appeal for him - it simply offers him an occupation to

31/ The writer would prefer the term "peasant type," but unfortunately - and largely without present-day justification - the term "peasant" seems to be tinged, to American ears, with notions of medieval backwardness and a physical drudgery not allowing for a decent cultural and material level of living.

which he will cling as long as it pays him more than any other open to him.

Settlers can seldom be classified as belonging absolutely to one type or the other. There are many shades of transition. But approximations are clearly discernible, and in analyzing reasons for success it may be helpful to keep the possible range of basic attitude in mind. A revealing instance of tension between them is demonstrated by the way the older Bohemians of the native settlement, most of whom have grown-up sons by now, resent the preference right of the veterans, who, in their opinion, are all speculators.

It will be clear from these remarks why success and stability do not coincide on this project. The speculative type in many instances has an even stronger desire to utilize his opportunity than the home-making farmer type. The difference between the two is more likely to consist in their methods of farm management. The farmer type, thinking of the future, does not want to exhaust his resources and places proper emphasis on rotation and drainage, whereas the speculator may be more careless in this respect. However, the fact that exhausted land ("spudded out" is the technical term) sells at a considerable discount acts as an effective check on such tendencies. (For instance, it seems to be a clever practice to keep the owned land in alfalfa and make the big potato money on rented land.)

Thus to a certain degree a positive attitude toward farming and a well-developed business sense can substitute for one another. Certainly the greatest love of the soil will not make business sense dispensable, and the best business man cannot make a success if he dislikes farming. But the one or the other often prevails definitely.

A positive attitude toward farm life and farming as an occupation, although not always toward residence on this particular project, generally prevails. Many farmers expressed a genuine aversion toward the town, and pride and satisfaction in living in the country. The independence of country life was often commented on, especially by the women. Of course, the very high standard of living, in which almost complete electrification plays an important role, is largely responsible for this attitude. These homesteaders possess more modern conveniences such as automobiles, radios, hot running water, bathrooms, indoor toilets, electric refrigerators, stoves, and washing machines, and even oil burners than many comparable groups of city dwellers. Almost invariably, settlers who have built new houses have installed such conveniences. Others still living in homestead shacks already possess some of these advantages, and most of them are awaiting only an opportune time for building new and completely modern dwellings. Incidentally, the writer never heard the shack-dwellers complain about their own shelter conditions, nor were they regarded as occupying an inferior social position by their neighbors with more pretentious homes, since the latter have come only recently from dwellings similarly poor.

Table 16.- Dwelling accommodations of 54 homesteaders who stayed and operated in 1936, by classes of present net worth

Item	Present net worth					
	:\$10,000:\$20,000:\$30,000:\$40,000					
	: Under : to : to : to : and					
	: Total	:\$10,000:	19,999:	29,999:	39,999:	over
Number of homesteaders	54	9	24	12	3	6
Average net worth, 1936 (dollars)	20,601	5,884	14,600	25,292	35,132	50,037
Average value of dwelling (dollars)	1,645	1,039	1,140	2,852	2,667	1,567 <u>1/</u>
Number of homesteaders with houses con- structed -						
Of wood: <u>2/</u>						
No foundation	16	3	7	3	1	2
Rock foundation	14	2	7	3	1	1
Concrete foundation	21	4	9	4	1	3
Of brick or stone	1	-	-	1	-	-
Number of homesteaders with houses equipped with -						
Oil burners	4	1	2	1	-	-
Central heating	3	-	1	2	-	-
Running water	32	4	12	8	3	5
Hot water	26	3	8	8	3	4
Bathroom	30	4	10	9 <u>3/</u>	3	4
Inside toilet	24	3	8	7	3	3
Electric lights	50	9	21	11	3	6
Electric stove	33	5	13	7	3	5
Electric refrigerator	24	1	10	8	1	4
Electric washing machine	46	6	21	10	3	6
Telephone	13 <u>4/</u>	-	4	5	-	4
Radio	44	6	18	11	3	6

1/ Three of these homesteaders are living in shacks valued at \$200, \$200, and \$500.

2/ No reports for 2 farms.

3/ One house with bathroom but not running water.

4/ The small number of homesteaders with telephones is mainly caused by the fact that the users have to pay extra charges for calls to town and even to other parts of the project.

In any case, however, a certain degree of business sense is required for success on this project, and it may be even more important than a thorough technical knowledge of farming. The optimum type-of-farming for the project has not yet been established. The violent and divergent price fluctuations of the past decade and a rapid development of marketing facilities have prevented the establishment of any definite type-of-farming tradition. A man decides more or less from year to year what he will do. Since the soil is very rich, he can afford more easily to violate conservative farming practices for a time than to make mistakes in his business forecasts. Moreover, the farmers of the area must be able to negotiate with first-rate dealers. They must learn likewise to deal with the high-pressure salesmen of farm machinery. The lure of machinery is great and the temptation to overbuy is hard to resist. Again, the frequent offers of farms for sale or rent test the business sense.

Therefore, a working knowledge of the essentials of marketing and a vigilant attention to markets and prices are required. An educated observer living on the project expressed the opinion that the reading matter of the applicants should be given primary consideration in selection. Perhaps information on the way the radio is used would be equally revealing. Indeed, the "good farmers" practically without exception use the radio and the newspaper extensively for crop and market reports, and some of them mentioned the benefits to be derived from government bulletins dealing with the market situation. That most of the homesteaders themselves realize the importance of managerial and business ability is proven by their statements ascribing the failure of others to the lack of these qualifications.

To say that a farmer must be industrious to be successful is trite. Yet industry may be expressed in various ways, depending on the type of the individual concerned. The farmer type expresses industry largely by physical exertion, the speculative type largely by the intellectual effort required for observing markets, calculating, planning, and negotiating for an expansion of business.

The relationship between health and success is neither clear-cut nor uniform. The influence exerted by illness and physical handicaps depends upon the character and the temperament of the individual. Some persons respond to certain physical afflictions with over-compensating mechanisms. It is the opinion of physicians that an ailment which is the outgrowth of constitutional inferiority is less likely to call forth such mechanisms than is a handicap acquired later in life, especially through injury or infection. Among the most successful and efficient farmers visited, at least three had serious organic trouble and several others were handicapped by crippling injuries. In fact, all of the men with serious injuries and some of those with grave organic disorders were good farmers and respected citizens, while not one of the unsuccessful men was afflicted similarly. Evidently physical handicaps

should not exclude an applicant, so long as the nature of the defect does not make farm work impossible.

There are some exceptions. Probably tuberculosis should be regarded differently, since it will not only preclude physical exertion but may incline a person toward an unstable frame of mind. An attempt should be made to exclude veterans with a compensation neurosis and men with obvious symptoms of degeneration.

As was stressed in the discussion of the reasons for leaving the homestead, the cooperation and the interest of the wife are of paramount importance. While there are some exceptions, most of the first-rate farmers have helpful and intelligent wives who like living on the project.

Chapter VII

RELATION BETWEEN REASONS FOR INSTABILITY AND CRITERIA APPLIED IN SELECTION

That the total of homesteaders selling out (up to the time of the conclusion of this survey in 1936) included a fairly large number of good farmers and respected citizens, was shown in Chapter V. This suggests the existence of weighty reasons for instability that have nothing to do with the quality of the homesteaders. As the criteria applied in the selection procedure pertain only to "quality" in general, without regard to stability, this means that in a large number of cases the reasons for leaving could not have been forestalled with the present procedure, even if its four criteria had been 100 percent perfectly applied.

The reasons for leaving may be divided into five groups according to the manner in which they are related to selection:

1. Some might be forestalled by a perfected application of the present method.
2. Others might be counteracted by incorporating new features in the selection method or in the general requirements for homesteading on irrigation projects.
3. Still others might be forestalled by selection methods which, however, would not be applicable on Federal Reclamation Projects.
4. Some might be prevented to a certain extent by better technical advice and by closer cooperation between authorities of the Reclamation Service and the farmers.
5. Finally, there are reasons that cannot be counter-balanced so long as good irrigation projects are homesteaded, but that might possibly be reduced in importance by modifications of the homesteading regulations.

Some comments on the five groups of reasons follow.

Group 1: This includes such reasons as "lack of farming experience," "lack of capital," "laziness," and "poor health" (unless contracted later on the homestead).

From the stories of the homesteaders it is evident that the little "quiz" in farming experience given in 1927 was not a thorough one. But it seems probable that this point has been taken care of since the early days of selection to which our data refer. It goes without saying that the reliability of farm-experience ratings depends entirely on the capability of the selection board.

Provided capital requirements are consistent with individual project conditions, lack of capital should not occur if dependable net

worth statements can be obtained. On the Tule Lake Division the initial fault lay in the absence of a proper checking system. But this has been corrected, partially at least, in later years; now the applicant's local banker is usually asked for an opinion on the applicant's net worth. It might be worth while to investigate whether or not a system could be devised requiring an applicant to supplement his own statements with certifications from a public appraising agency covering existent assets and their value and, if possible, all outstanding indebtedness. Furthermore, if loss of the homestead right were made the penalty for deliberate misrepresentation, an even higher degree of reliability might be obtained.

Departures from the project due to laziness might be checked to some extent by improving the reference procedure. The questions on the present blank are far too few, too general, and too crude. It is very important that a range of rather finely graded replies be suggested for each question, since the "black-or-white" type of questions leads to failure. For example, the gradation on the reference sheet for the topic "industry" might be as follows: 32/ "Industrious, hard worker," "good worker," "fair worker," "lazy," "loafer." Such a question should be addressed to a former employer, or preferably to several, to preclude possible bias. In the cases of a former farmer, the officers of the farm organization, Chamber of Commerce, Community Club, or the like, in his home neighborhood might contribute pertinent information. With proper discounting of the ratings thus obtained, this method might have some effect in reducing "laziness" as a reason for leaving. 33/

Without exception, the health status of the applicant and his family should be examined. In 1927 this requirement evidently received only superficial attention. Since the applicants for irrigation homesteads are of a relatively high social rank and financial level, health certificates (for example, blanks prepared by the Bureau of Reclamation, filled in and attested by a doctor who is preferably a public health officer) should not be difficult to obtain. A physician should be a mandatory member of the selection board; and, with such certificates as a basis, he could judge rather well whether or not living and working conditions on a project would prove too exacting for the prospective

32/ This was the form used in selection of applicants by the Resettlement Administration (now Farm Security Administration) for the Cumberland Homesteads Project in Tennessee.

33/ The very first reference sheet used by the Reclamation Office in a few Tule Lake cases contained a checking device for graded answers. It could be seen even from these few cases that the references like to rate a man as "good" instead of "excellent" when they want to express doubt without openly damaging his chances.

settler and his family. 34/

Group 2: The present procedure might be stretched to cover both marital status and drinking and gambling proclivities. Bachelors or men whose wives do not want to move on the homestead could easily be excluded by a readjustment of the general requirements having to do with citizenship, etc. Young, unmarried men might be given a chance to file but proving up might be forbidden unless they were married. It seems also worth investigating whether single women should not be excluded. Their showing on the Tule Lake Division makes it doubtful whether they are not in general incapable of becoming successful farm operators. Satisfactory arrangements involving single women were found only in several cases where two brothers and a mother had units close together and where the brothers operated the mother's unit cooperatively. Inclinations toward drinking and gambling might be detected by including relevant inquiries in the blank sent out to the references. That the right kind of people be addressed, and that no black-or-white answers be suggested, cannot be stressed too emphatically. An even more effective policy would be to deny the habitual drunkard or gambler his privilege of final proof.

In the writer's opinion, the introduction of ratings on business ability and general intelligence would improve the forecasting value of the total ratings. While an estimate of business ability might be founded on information secured from banks previously dealing with the applicants, the board's composite impression of the applicant should predominate in fixing the rating. The rating on intelligence should be left entirely to the judgment of the board. Logical sequence would place it at the very end of the interview.

Group 3: There is another group of reasons impelling settlers to leave the project which, though of outstanding importance, no revision of the selection scheme can handle practicably within the present set-up for homesteading irrigation land.

Personality features and factors in family life, for instance, can be brought out only through the closer contacts provided by case-work methods. Visits to the home and family interviews (or possibly, since they are infinitely more revealing, separate interviews with husband and wife) would be desirable. The class of people involved in the settlement of Reclamation projects and their relations to the Government are

34/ It will be shown later that certain information easily obtainable for destitute resettlement applicants cannot be secured for irrigation homesteaders. The reverse is true here. It is one of the great handicaps of resettlement selection that a medical examination is often impracticable because of the costs. But the examination should be possible for reclamation prospects. The settler in Germany who wants a "new peasant's certificate" is required to submit much more elaborate data on his physical status at his own expense.

such, however, that this approach seems impracticable; for these settlers are very sensitive about alleged governmental "prying into their private affairs."

Thus the immensely important factor, "desire to live and work on a farm," defies any successful investigation, while the degree of family harmony remains equally impossible to ascertain. Although family trouble is relatively easy to diagnose by case-work methods, "desire to farm" presents a serious problem for any type of selection procedure.

Group 4: In the course of this study, several cases were discovered of settlers who had left the project because of alkali land. (The author is not competent to say whether or not this result was avoidable, but there was no evidence of organized cooperation between the Reclamation Service and the homesteaders to fight the alkali danger). Moreover, the homesteaders do not seem to have a clear conception of the real extent of the threat or the time when it may become acute. Inquiries regarding the problem put to 10 or 20 farmers were answered in the most confused and contradictory terms. Attitudes ranged from an utter lack of concern to a frame of mind resulting in outright sale of the homestead for this reason alone. Even in the northeastern section, where the danger is especially great, differences in opinion were wide. 35/

Seemingly, too, technical advice has not been sufficiently available to the homesteaders. In one part of the project, the farmers have struggled for nine years to eradicate salt grass. Every farmer has his own patent solution which he has developed after many years of experimentation. Obviously, much energy and money might have been saved by early instruction. A similar situation exists as regards the kind of potato seed best adapted to the short growing season. A peculiar situation regarding the availability of a county agent and his services is to a large extent responsible for the lack of technical advice. The highly efficient and respected county agent for Klamath County, Oregon, stationed at Klamath Falls, is the only official of the sort near the project. In the days of early settlement, he took care of the entire Tule Lake Division, including those parts located within the California boundaries. Later, however, he had to restrict himself to his own county. Thus, since the agents theoretically accountable for the California counties are more than 100 miles away, a large proportion of the homesteaders, including nearly all those covered by this study, were left without expert advice.

Group 5: The last group of reasons for homesteader instability has nothing whatsoever to do with quality or selection and cannot be

35/ Several farmers in this section complained because the promised canal to bring clean water from Clear Lake Dam had not materialized. Instead, they received from the J-Canal water which allegedly was partially polluted by drainage from the higher land near Merrill.

forestalled by any change of method. Unfortunately, it is the most important group of all. It comprises "other professional interests," "dislike of country," "wife dissatisfied," to some extent "other family reasons," and, above all, "speculation."

All these influences are closely interrelated, and they all center around the speculative possibilities inherent in homesteading on excellent land. Who would buy a farm in a part of the country he dislikes? Or who would turn to farming when he must drag along and almost tie down an unwilling wife? Who would play light-heartedly with the idea of resuming a former occupation if his farm had been acquired by purchase? But when valuable land with abundant water at relatively low rates can be had as a gift and freely sold at a high price after a moderate investment of time and effort, the allurements prove almost irresistible. Unattractive features of the country receive little attention. The wife is either persuaded or bullied into accepting the proposition. The settler quiets his personal doubts as to whether he will like farming by reflecting that he can always return to his earlier occupation when his holding has been cashed in for several thousands of dollars. For that matter, he thinks the money will be very helpful in establishing an independent business.

Even farmers and members of their families with farm property adjacent to the project frequently show a lack of stability as a result of the speculative enticements of homesteading. Whenever openings are in prospect, everyone in the vicinity who can qualify is eager to file. Whether or not he needs a permanent home is of little consequence. Then, as the land is so easily obtained, any minor excuse will serve for its disposal. Family trouble of a rather light nature, an inheritance, or the opportunity to buy another farm nearer the folks are reasons for a sale.

None of these forces making for instability could be diminished by the most perfect selection method. Something might be achieved, however, by tightening the regulations as to the type of residence and the percentage of acreage in crops required for proving up. A satisfactory dwelling not only is evidence of an intention to make the place a permanent house but in its turn becomes a tie that binds a family more closely to the farm. The results might be beneficial, too, if homesteaders were permitted to lease only by special authorization until final proof is offered or, possibly, until construction charges are paid. Non-operating professional men and others to whom home acquisition means nothing would thus be excluded. However, such rules would be feasible only in conjunction with a hitherto lacking organization to provide cheap credit for farm development. Otherwise, the last rule especially would mean discrimination against those settlers whose leasing during the first few years is necessitated by insufficient capital for land develop-

ment and the ensuing compulsion to look for outside work. 36/

By way of summary it may be said that, insofar as conditions on the Tule Lake Division allow inferences, turnover on reclamation projects might be decreased by the following expedients:

1. A close check on the capital statements of applicants.
2. A requirement that health certificates be issued by physicians (preferably public health officers), to be considered by a medical member of the selection board.
3. Improvement of references; to be effected by a more thorough procedure with respect to persons addressed, features covered, and form of suggested answers, and by amending the reference sheet to include queries on industry, business ability, drinking, and gambling.
4. Inclusion of ratings on business ability and general intelligence.
5. Introduction of requirements concerning marital status and reasonable sobriety; revision of regulations to demand for final proof a better type of dwelling and, possibly, a greater percentage of acreage in crops.
6. Prohibition of leasing before final proof or, preferably, until construction charges are paid (possible only in conjunction with satisfactory credit arrangements).
7. Provision for continuous technical advice and close cooperation with the homesteaders in solving problems that defy individual solution, as, for instance, the alkali problem.

As these proposals do not try to attack the fundamental problem of homestead speculation, they could be expected to lessen the turnover only to a limited extent.

36/ The attitude taken in the Haw-Schmitt report of 1934 with respect to tenancy is rather indefinite. On p. 84, after lamenting the evils of tenancy on projects, the authors continue: "Proposals have been made by some that so long as the government has a creditor interest in a reclamation farm, tenant farming be permitted only on a special authorization. The committee is not convinced of the soundness or adequacy of this proposal. While it is not able to suggest an effective method, it believes that the problem should have further attention." Report on Federal Reclamation to the Secretary of the Interior, December 1, 1934. Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., 1935.

Chapter VIII

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the selection procedure on the Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project strengthens the conviction that family selection is a worth-while undertaking. The appraisals of the selection board and the quality later demonstrated by the settlers were found to be fairly well correlated. Low appraisals, particularly, showed a high degree of reliability. Therefore, had applications outnumbered homestead opportunities, the selection process would have excluded many more undesirable than desirable applicants.

Two modifications might take place in cases of selection where this condition would apply. As they work in opposite directions, the results might still be substantially the same. For one, under such circumstances the rating would be done with more meticulous care. This should lead to the expectation that the number of rejected persons would contain an even higher ratio of undesirable to desirable applicants than the one derived from the data on low-rated applicants on the Tule Lake Division. (The latter, including the mediocre with the undesirable would have been 5 to 1, on the assumption, for instance, that all persons rated 85 or less would have been rejected.)

This tendency, however, will be counteracted by another. As the ratio of applications to available homesteads advances, the proportion of justified eliminations will inevitably decline, other things (for example, care in rating) being equal. For while it is relatively simple to isolate the worst prospects, it is far more difficult to distinguish between those that are medium and excellent. And this distinction becomes essential when applicants reach such a number that only the very best can be admitted. Taking the data obtained for Tule Lake as a basis, the ratio of rejected desirable to rejected mediocre and undesirable applicants would have increased with a rising flow of applications in the following proportions:

		: which would have been:	the rejected
If all applicants up to a total rating of...		the case with applications being... per-	excellent 1/3: mediocre and poor applicants would have comprised ... percent of the
...would have had to be rejected,		cent of possible admissions,	rejected total:
75	103	0	100
80	109	9	91
85	128	17	83
90	179	30	70
95	296	36	64

1/ First three classes on Table 19.

The two last columns clearly reveal that the proportion of rejected good prospects, equal care of selection assumed, would mount quickly as applications exceed available homesteads. These figures are of special interest with relation to projects where the flow of applications usually is the manifold of available units.

However, in most cases the danger of rejecting good applicants will be at least partially checked by increasing care of selection. Furthermore, the primary aim of selection is, after all, to eliminate those really bad cases who would be detrimental to the project, rather than to be unobjectionably correct in admitting only applicants even the worst of whom would be superior to the best among the rejected. And that this primary aim is more easily attained with many than with few applications, provided the poor prospects contribute equal proportions of the total of applicants, is shown by the following figures, derived from the Tule Lake material:

			: which would have been :
If all applicants up	: the case with appli-	:	... percent of all
to a total rating of	: cations being ... per-	:	poor prospects <u>1</u> / who
... would have had to:	cent of possible ad-	:	applied would have
be rejected,	: missions,	:	been excluded:
75	103		8
80	109		19
85	128		42
90	179		73
95	296		88

1/ Last (excluding "Other") three groups on Table 19.

Thus, if all those rated 95 or lower had been rejected, 88 percent of the homesteaders who later proved to be undesirable as either farmers or citizens, or both, would have been excluded.

Confidence in family selection is further reinforced by the fact that the procedure of the Bureau of Reclamation is more or less elementary and technically imperfect. Finer methods, particularly those employed in case work, should tend to give even better results. Care should be exercised, however, that an inferiority of judgment in the selection personnel does not outweigh the presumable superiority of the method. The most elaborate device in the hands of a single social worker, particularly an inexperienced one, might be less effective than a few hit-or-miss ratings established by several realistic practitioners who have had extensive dealings with persons comparable to the applicants. Therefore, when selection is based largely on field work, the judgment of the single field investigator should be carefully checked against personal impressions as reported by an experienced selection staff. This combination of a preparatory intensive case analysis by an individual worker and the final selection by a committee is characteristic of the procedure employed

on Resettlement projects. With a system more refined and a personnel no less competent than that functioning at Tule Lake, the results of selection can be anticipated with confidence.

Another equally important conclusion derived from this study is that the quality of applicants as farmers and citizens is far from being the only determinant of their stability as homesteaders. Failure as a farmer may lead to moving, but many other reasons will have the same effect. Whether people will strike root or leave is to a considerable extent outside the control of selection. More than by any intricacies of the selection method proper, instability should be prevented by creating sound economic, social, and hygienic conditions on the project, by helping the homesteaders to get adjusted through proper technical advice and cooperation in such vital economic problems as cannot be solved through individual effort, and by delimiting from the outset the circle of applicants in accordance with the specific requirements of the project.

This conclusion has different implications for Resettlement than it has for Reclamation. Resettlement does not have to cope with the unfortunate speculative features of homesteading. (However, on those projects where prospective settlers are engaged in construction work at relatively high wages, the opportunity to secure temporary employment may sometimes have a similar effect. This, too, makes it hard to discern the serious and lasting "desire to farm.") Moreover, technical advisory services and cooperation between management and homesteaders are established parts of Resettlement procedure.

On the other hand, the Resettlement Administration bears a much greater responsibility for a secure economic foundation to support its projects. Its clients, in contrast to Federal Reclamation settlers, are equipped as a class with few or no capital resources of their own. Resettlement clients receive their homesteads more or less ready-made, the use to be made of the land is in general a pre-established feature, and during the first years even the annual farm plans have necessarily to be made in close cooperation between the individual settler and the project management. The temptation for the settler is great, therefore, to rely more on the directions of the management than on his personal initiative.

This difference has an important bearing on settler stability. It may confidently be assumed that the same difficulties will lead to quite different psychological repercussions when a man knows they are due to his own lack of foresight than when he can blame them on faulty plans of a project management. In the first case, he will try to conceal and do better. In the second, he will expose, exaggerate, and possibly leave, after having infected the other settlers with his discontent. Apparently, therefore, Resettlement policy would do well to foster in each client a sense of responsibility for his own farming plans and for his share in the early self-liquidation of the project management. It is self-evident, however, that the best of technical advice should be a permanent part of the program.

Some elasticity as to the size of farms seems highly desirable in any type of land settlement. On reclamation projects, where bare land is turned over to the settlers, such elasticity is particularly necessary because much larger acreages can be handled by one farmer when the land is developed than when it is still in the development stage. In addition, on reclamation as well as on other projects, differences in individual efficiency, the varying labor supply induced by the "family cycle," and the individual life cycle in the physical power of the farmer himself call for a certain degree of elasticity.

On the Tule Lake Division, it was found that this elasticity was provided by settlers who desired to leave or lease. If these operators had not withdrawn, leaving land that could be used by others, the project would have lost many of its best and most ambitious men. Where it is considered an evil to pay for the expansion and resultant stability of the most efficient by instability of the rest, the group settled at the same time should be composed of varying age classes. In this case, the total land requirement of the group would remain about the same for a long period of time, and only the possibility of mutually leasing part of the original homesteads (up to a maximum limit) would be required to provide for the desired elasticity. Where such a policy is not feasible, a provision for land reserves might offer a solution. 37/

With respect to the value of individual criteria, farming experience, measured not in years but years weighted by ability to utilize experience, is a highly important but not indispensable qualification. It is of real value largely in areas where long-established types of farming prevail. In a relatively new area where there is much experimentation as to choice of crops and farm practices, it is replaceable for the most part by general education, intelligence, business ability, and willingness to read and observe. This is especially true when men with little experience but considerable intelligence are interspersed among a group of experienced farmers. Under such conditions, the former have ample opportunity to profit by the example of others. In a group composed entirely of inexperienced men, lack of farming experience may prove much more disadvantageous. Wherever mental alertness is not a common quality, it may be well to place more emphasis on this criterion. These observations probably hold for projects of any kind.

Physical health and vigor should be examined carefully. For every member of each family as much material should be collected on this subject as possible. The presence of a physician on the selection staff would be highly desirable. His function should not be to exclude mechanically all persons with ailments and handicaps; rather, it should be to formulate an intelligent judgment as to the part these ailments and handicaps may

37/ It is recognized that both proposals are more or less impracticable on irrigated homesteads. The physical exertion necessary to develop an irrigated homestead sets a fairly low age limit, save for settlers with grown-up sons. The keeping of land reserves is entirely impossible for financial considerations.

play within the mental framework of the particular individual. That the physician should regard his work in this light is essential not only because certain physical weaknesses in persons of strong character often act as a stimulant toward greater effort, but also because physically handicapped persons should be assisted to find a suitable place in life.

When references are employed, questions should be formulated to cover individual, delimited qualifications. Answers based on a detailed scale of ratings should be suggested for checking, particular care being taken to include replies which, although they are not actually derogatory, do not indicate unqualified approval.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 17.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and final ratings obtained in 1936, for 136 Tule Lake homesteaders (absolute numbers)

		Number of cases whose final rating on -											
		Success was:				Effort was:				Social standing was:			
Initial ratings	Total	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
:	:	(Good)	(Medi-ocre)	(Poor)	(Good)	(Medi-ocre)	(Poor)	(Good)	(Medi-ocre)	(Poor)	(Outstand- ing)	(Aver- age)	(Unde- sirable)
Total	136	62	58	16	62	59	15	27	85	24			
Total rating:													
70 - 75	4	-	3	1	-	3	1	-	2	2			
75.01 - 80	7	2	3	2	1	3	3	-	5	2			
80.01 - 85	19	5	9	5	5	9	5	1	11	7			
85.01 - 90	30	11	16	3	11	19	-	5	19	6			
90.01 - 95	30	14	13	3	14	13	3	3	23	4			
95.01 - 100	46	30	14	2	31	12	3	18	25	3			
Farming experience:													
15 - 17.5	32	10	15	7	8	17	7	3	18	11			
17.51 - 20	33	12	17	4	12	18	3	3	26	4			
20.01 - 22.5	15	6	7	2	7	8	-	4	7	4			
22.51 - 25	56	34	19	3	35	16	5	17	34	5			
Capital:													
15 - 17.5	28	7	17	4	6	17	5	2	19	7			
17.51 - 20	11	7	4	-	7	4	-	2	8	1			
20.01 - 22.5	20	5	9	6	6	10	4	3	13	4			
22.51 - 25	77	43	28	6	43	28	6	20	45	12			
Industry:													
15 - 17.5	5	2	3	-	2	3	-	-	4	1			
17.51 - 20	14	2	9	3	2	9	3	1	7	6			
20.01 - 22.5	6	2	1	3	1	4	1	-	3	3			
22.51 - 25	111	56	45	10	57	43	11	26	71	14			
Character:													
15 - 17.5	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-			
17.51 - 20	6	-	3	3	-	3	3	-	2	4			
20.01 - 22.5	5	-	2	3	-	2	3	-	1	4			
22.51 - 25	124	62	52	10	62	53	9	27	81	16			

Table 18.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and final ratings obtained in 1936, for 136 Tule Lake homesteaders (percentages) 1/

		Percentage distribution of cases whose final rating on -									
		Success was:					Effort was:				
Initial ratings		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	Social standing was:
		: (Medi- : ocre) : (Poor) :			: (Good) : (Poor) :			: (Outstand- : ing) : (Unde- : sirable)			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total rating:											
70 - 75	2.9	-	5.2	6.2	-	5.1	6.7	-	2.3	8.3	
75.01 - 80	5.1	3.2	5.2	12.5	1.6	5.1	20.0	-	5.9	8.3	
80.01 - 85	14.0	8.1	15.5	31.2	8.1	15.3	33.3	3.7	12.9	29.2	
85.01 - 90	22.1	17.7	27.6	18.8	17.7	32.2	-	18.5	22.4	25.0	
90.01 - 95	22.1	22.6	22.4	18.8	22.6	22.0	20.0	11.1	27.1	16.7	
95.01 -100	33.8	48.4	24.1	12.5	50.0	20.3	20.0	66.7	29.4	12.5	
Farming experience:											
15 - 17.5	23.5	16.1	25.9	43.8	12.9	28.8	46.7	11.1	21.2	45.8	
17.51 - 20	24.3	19.4	29.3	25.0	19.4	30.5	20.0	11.1	30.6	16.7	
20.01 - 22.5	11.0	9.7	12.1	12.5	11.3	13.6	-	14.8	8.2	16.7	
22.51 - 25	41.2	54.8	32.7	18.7	56.4	27.1	33.3	63.0	40.0	20.8	
Capital:											
15 - 17.5	20.6	11.3	29.3	25.0	9.7	28.8	33.3	7.4	22.4	29.2	
17.51 - 20	8.1	11.3	6.9	-	11.3	6.8	-	7.4	9.4	4.1	
20.01 - 22.5	14.7	8.1	15.5	37.5	9.7	16.9	26.7	11.1	15.3	16.7	
22.51 - 25	56.6	69.3	48.3	37.5	69.3	47.5	40.0	74.1	52.9	50.0	
Industry:											
15 - 17.5	3.7	3.2	5.2	-	3.2	5.1	-	-	4.7	4.2	
17.51 - 20	10.3	3.2	15.5	18.7	3.2	15.2	20.0	3.7	8.3	25.0	
20.01 - 22.5	4.4	3.2	1.7	18.7	1.6	6.8	6.7	-	3.5	12.5	
22.51 - 25	81.6	90.4	77.6	62.6	92.0	72.9	73.3	96.3	83.5	58.3	
Character:											
15 - 17.5	.7	-	1.7	-	-	1.7	-	-	1.2	-	
17.51 - 20	4.4	-	5.2	18.7	-	5.1	20.0	-	2.3	16.7	
20.01 - 22.5	3.7	-	3.4	18.7	-	3.4	20.0	-	1.2	16.7	
22.51 - 25	91.2	100.0	89.7	62.6	100.0	89.8	60.0	100.0	95.3	66.6	

1/ Percentages on this and some of the following tables were computed vertically since, in a number of cases, the bases would otherwise have been exceedingly small.

Table 19.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and later development, as expressed by typical combinations of the final ratings obtained in 1936 (absolute numbers)

		Number of cases who were -									
		: : : : : : : :		: : : : : : : :		: : : : : : : :		: : : : : : : :		: : : : : : : :	
Initial ratings :		Total		Good farmer, : farmer, : farmer, : Bad farmer, : Bad farmer, :		outstanding : normal : undesirable : normal : undesirable :		citizen : citizen : citizen : citizen : citizen :		citizen : citizen : citizen : citizen : citizen :	
		136	21	39	5	40	10	6	10	5	
Total											
Total rating:											
70 - 75		4	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	
75.01 - 80		7	-	1	-	3	-	1	2	-	
80.01 - 85		19	1	3	-	8	1	-	5	1	
85.01 - 90		30	2	8	3	8	5	3	-	1	
90.01 - 95		30	2	12	-	10	2	1	1	2	
95.01 - 100		46	16	15	2	9	1	1	1	1	
Farming											
experience:											
15 - 17.5		32	3	5	-	11	5	2	6	-	
17.51 - 20		33	1	11	2	13	2	2	2	-	
20.01 - 22.5		15	3	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	
22.51 - 25		56	14	21	2	12	2	1	1	3	
Capital:											
15 - 17.5		28	-	6	2	11	3	2	3	1	
17.51 - 20		11	2	4	-	4	-	-	-	1	
20.01 - 22.5		20	2	4	-	7	1	2	3	1	
22.51 - 25		77	17	25	3	18	6	2	4	2	
Industry:											
15 - 17.5		5	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	
17.51 - 20		14	-	1	1	6	2	-	3	1	
20.01 - 22.5		6	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	
22.51 - 25		111	21	36	4	30	7	5	5	3	
Character:											
15 - 17.5		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
17.51 - 20		6	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	-	
20.01 - 22.5		5	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	
22.51 - 25		124	21	39	5	36	8	6	4	5	

Table 22.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and later stability, 136 Tule Lake homesteaders

: : : Number of cases : : : Percentage distribution											
Initial ratings : : : Owner- : : : Habitual : : : Former											
: : : operators : : : lessors : : : owners											
: : : (group A) : : : (group B) : : : (group C)											
: : : Total : : : (group A) : : : (group B) : : : (group C)											
Total	136	66	17	53	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total rating:											
70 - 75	4	2	-	2	2.9	3.0	-	3.8	-	5.9	3.8
75.01 - 80	7	3	1	3	5.1	4.6	5.9	5.7	23.5	23.5	13.2
80.01 - 85	19	8	4	7	14.0	12.1	14.0	13.2	17.6	17.6	24.5
85.01 - 90	30	14	3	13	22.1	21.2	22.1	22.6	17.6	17.6	22.6
90.01 - 95	30	15	3	12	22.1	22.7	22.1	35.4	35.4	35.4	30.2
95.01 -100	46	24	6	16	33.8	36.4	33.8				
Farming											
experience:											
15 - 17.5	32	13	3	16	23.5	19.7	23.5	17.6	17.6	17.6	30.2
17.51 - 20	33	17	3	13	24.3	25.8	24.3	17.6	17.6	17.6	24.5
20.01 - 22.5	15	9	2	4	11.0	13.6	11.0	11.8	11.8	11.8	7.6
22.51 - 25	56	27	9	20	41.2	40.9	41.2	53.0	53.0	53.0	37.7
Capital:											
15 - 17.5	28	13	5	10	20.6	19.7	20.6	29.4	29.4	29.4	18.9
17.51 - 20	11	6	2	3	8.1	9.1	8.1	11.8	11.8	11.8	5.6
20.01 - 22.5	20	8	2	10	14.7	12.1	14.7	11.8	11.8	11.8	18.9
22.51 - 25	77	39	8	30	56.6	59.1	56.6	47.0	47.0	47.0	56.6
Industry:											
15 - 17.5	5	4	1	-	3.7	6.1	3.7	5.9	5.9	5.9	-
17.51 - 20	14	5	3	6	10.3	7.6	10.3	17.7	17.7	17.7	11.3
20.01 - 22.5	6	3	-	3	4.4	4.5	4.4	-	-	-	5.7
22.51 - 25	111	54	13	44	81.6	81.8	81.6	76.4	76.4	76.4	83.0
Character:											
15 - 17.5	1	1	-	-	.7	1.5	.7	-	-	-	-
17.51 - 20	6	1	-	5	4.4	1.5	4.4	5.9	5.9	5.9	9.4
20.01 - 22.5	5	-	1	4	3.7	-	3.7	94.1	94.1	94.1	7.6
22.51 - 25	124	64	16	44	91.2	97.0	91.2	83.0	83.0	83.0	83.0

Table 23.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and final ratings based on effort obtained in 1936 (absolute numbers)

		Number of cases whose final rating on effort was -											
		1 (Good)			2 (Mediocre)			3 (Poor)					
Initial ratings	Total	Owner-operators: (group A):	Habitual lessors: (group B):	Former owners: (group C):	Owner-operators: (group A):	Habitual lessors: (group B):	Former owners: (group C):	Owner-operators: (group A):	Habitual lessors: (group B):	Former owners: (group C):	Owner-operators: (group A):	Habitual lessors: (group B):	Former owners: (group C):
Total	136	62	39	6	17	59	26	7	26	15	1	4	10
Total rating:													
70 - 75	4	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	1	-	-	1
75.01 - 80	7	1	1	-	-	3	1	1	1	3	1	-	2
80.01 - 85	19	5	4	-	-	9	4	2	3	5	-	1	4
85.01 - 90	30	11	7	1	3	19	7	2	10	-	-	-	-
90.01 - 95	30	14	10	1	3	13	5	1	7	3	-	1	2
95.01 - 100	46	31	17	3	11	12	7	1	4	3	-	2	1
Farming experience:													
15 - 17.5	32	8	6	-	2	17	6	3	8	7	1	-	6
17.51 - 20	33	12	8	1	3	18	9	1	8	3	-	1	2
20.01 - 22.5	15	7	6	1	-	8	3	1	4	-	-	-	-
22.51 - 25	56	35	19	4	12	16	8	2	6	5	-	3	2
Capital:													
15 - 17.5	28	6	5	-	1	17	7	3	7	5	1	2	2
17.51 - 20	11	7	4	2	1	4	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
20.01 - 22.5	20	6	3	1	2	10	5	1	4	4	-	-	4
22.51 - 25	77	43	27	3	13	28	12	3	13	6	-	2	4
Industry:													
15 - 17.5	5	2	2	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
17.51 - 20	14	2	1	1	-	9	4	2	3	3	-	-	3
20.01 - 22.5	6	1	1	-	-	4	2	-	2	1	-	-	1
22.51 - 25	111	57	35	5	17	43	18	4	21	11	1	4	6
Character:													
15 - 17.5	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.51 - 20	6	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	2	3	-	-	3
20.01 - 22.5	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	3	-	-	3
22.51 - 25	124	62	39	6	17	53	24	6	23	9	1	4	4

Table 24.- Relation between initial ratings given at time of selection in 1927-28 and final ratings based on effort obtained in 1936 (percentages)

		Percentage distribution of cases whose final rating on effort was -											
		1 (Good)			2 (Mediocre)			3 (Poor)					
Initial ratings	Total	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners	Owner- : Habitual : lessors : owners
		:(group A):	:(group B):	:(group C):	:(group A):	:(group B):	:(group C):	:(group A):	:(group B):	:(group C):	:(group A):	:(group B):	:(group C):
Total	100.0	45.6	28.7	4.4	12.5	43.4	19.1	5.2	19.1	11.0	0.7	2.9	7.4
Total rating:													
70 - 75	100.0	-	-	-	-	75.0	50.0	-	25.0	25.0	-	-	25.0
75.01 - 80	100.0	14.2	14.2	-	-	42.9	14.3	14.3	42.9	14.3	14.3	-	28.6
80.01 - 85	100.0	26.3	21.0	-	-	47.4	21.1	10.5	15.8	26.3	-	5.3	21.0
85.01 - 90	100.0	36.7	23.4	5.3	-	63.3	23.3	6.7	33.3	-	-	-	-
90.01 - 95	100.0	46.7	33.4	3.3	10.0	43.3	16.7	3.3	23.3	10.0	-	3.3	6.7
95.01 - 100	100.0	67.4	37.0	6.5	23.9	26.1	15.2	2.2	8.7	6.5	-	4.3	2.2
Farming experience:													
15 - 17.5	100.0	25.0	18.8	-	6.2	53.1	18.7	9.4	25.0	21.9	3.1	-	18.8
17.51 - 20	100.0	36.4	24.3	3.0	9.1	54.5	27.3	3.0	24.2	9.1	-	3.0	6.1
20.01 - 22.5	100.0	46.7	40.0	6.7	-	53.3	20.0	6.6	26.7	-	-	-	-
22.51 - 25	100.0	62.5	33.9	7.2	21.4	28.6	14.3	3.6	10.7	8.9	-	5.3	3.6
Capital:													
15 - 17.5	100.0	21.4	17.8	-	3.6	60.7	25.0	10.7	25.0	17.9	3.7	7.1	7.1
17.51 - 20	100.0	63.6	36.3	18.2	9.1	36.4	18.2	-	18.2	-	-	-	-
20.01 - 22.5	100.0	30.0	15.0	5.0	10.0	50.0	25.0	5.0	20.0	20.0	-	-	20.0
22.51 - 25	100.0	55.8	35.0	3.9	16.9	36.4	15.6	3.9	16.9	7.8	-	2.6	5.2
Industry:													
15 - 17.5	100.0	40.0	40.0	-	-	60.0	40.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	-
17.51 - 20	100.0	14.3	7.2	7.1	-	64.3	28.6	14.3	21.4	21.4	-	-	21.4
20.01 - 22.5	100.0	16.7	16.7	-	-	66.6	33.3	-	33.3	16.7	-	-	16.7
22.51 - 25	100.0	51.4	31.6	4.5	15.3	38.7	16.2	3.6	18.9	9.9	.9	3.6	5.4
Character:													
15 - 17.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.51 - 20	100.0	-	-	-	-	50.0	16.7	-	33.3	50.0	-	-	50.0
20.01 - 22.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	40.0	-	20.0	20.0	60.0	-	-	60.0
22.51 - 25	100.0	50.0	31.5	4.8	13.7	42.7	19.4	4.8	18.5	7.3	.7	3.3	3.3

Table 26.- Principal crop acreages, 1923-36,
Tule Lake Division

Year	Number of homesteads	Irrigated crop acreage	Acreage in -							Other	Potatoes
			Wheat	Barley	Oats	Rye	Alfalfa	hay			
1923	63	1,015	330	49	30	-	154	129	34		
1924	61	1,190	30	-	80	-	520	140	10		
1925	59	1,517	85	55	59	65	985	91	21		
1926	54	2,309	268	-	28	-	1,246	154	35		
1927	201	4,077	680	246	108	4	1,547	721	157		
1928	211	8,843	2,205	506	185	337	3,140	768	259		
1929	239	9,787	1,550	506	182	69	4,435	1,199	100		
1930	240	12,310	2,078	583	601	138	5,368	1,114	415		
1931	264	14,365	608	1,595	1,039	94	6,020	1,088	1,464		
1932	331	17,087	1,215	3,569	1,080	130	6,922	1,151	1,216		
1933	334	19,438	1,068	2,487	1,954	62	5,986	2,885	1,933		
1934	334	19,114	829	1,499	1,587	138	6,481	2,254	3,696		
1935	334	18,939	1,352	1,738	1,232	16	7,090	527	4,865		
1936	317	18,527	962	1,735	921	15	6,075	851	6,312		

1/ Including tame and wild pasture.

Table 27.- Prices of principal products of the Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, 1922-36 1/

Year :	Wheat : per bushel :	Barley : per bushel :	Oats : per bushel :	Rye : per bushel :	Grain : hay : ton :	Alfalfa : hay : ton :	Pota- toes : bushel :	Beef : cattle : head 2/ :	Dairy : cattle : head 3/ :	Sheep : per head 4/ :	Hogs : per head 4/ :
1922	\$0.96	\$0.66	\$0.59	\$0.66	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$0.45	\$57.50	5/	\$7.40	\$11.20
1923	.93	.84	.51	.72 6/	8.00	8.00	.75	50.00	5/	16.00	9.00
1924	1.50	.90 6/	.60	1.12 5/	15.00	14.00	.90	49.00	5/	10.00	8.00
1925	1.35	.55	.45	.70	7.00	8.00	1.35	35.00	\$60.00	11.00	15.00
1926	1.11	.64 6/	.48	.81 6/	8.00	10.00	.90	50.00	60.00	13.75	19.20
1927	1.02	.84	.64	.76	8.00	10.00	.60	41.00	71.00	11.00	14.10
1928	.96	.65	.48	.76	8.00	8.50	.50	66.00	72.00	11.50	13.20
1929	1.05	.65	.48	.85	11.00	12.00	1.10	30.00	75.00	8.50	11.80
1930	.66	.40	.32	.48	7.00	8.00	.75	40.00	73.00	5.20	12.50
1931	.54	.41	.27	.50	5.50	7.00	.30	29.00	49.00	2.93	8.70
1932	.50	.30	.26	.34	3.50	4.25	.25	33.00	44.00	2.50	4.60
1933	.60	.35	.31	.45	7.00	8.50	.45	15.00	24.00	4.50	4.30
1934	.82	.79	.48	.72	6.25	8.25	.42	20.00	26.00	4.40	5.30
1935	.75	.41	.26	.41	5.00	6.50	.60	35.00	36.00	5.70	11.00
1936	.90	.82	.44	.56	6.00	8.00	.80	34.00	49.00	5.27	10.00

1/ Data for 1922-35 were obtained through courtesy of the United States Bureau of Reclamation in Klamath Falls. Data for 1936 are taken from the Annual Report of the project superintendent. Data on hogs were recomputed to include brood sows over the entire period.

2/ Prices are given in this column for beef and dairy cattle, 1922-24, and for range and farm herds, 1925-36.

3/ Range and farm flocks.

4/ Including brood sows.

5/ Not available.

6/ Prices from Main Division Report

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

To test the value of the selection method, it was necessary to have full data both on the appraisal of the settlers at selection time and on the later development of the settlers as homesteaders.

The first group of data, consisting of application blanks, references, and the ratings of the selection board, was obtained through the courtesy of the Bureau of Reclamation and the office of the project superintendent at Klamath Falls. This material included also the individual water-user census cards for every year since 1927. The water-user census is taken every fall by the Reclamation Office. The cards contain information on the value of the farm, on the improvements made since homesteading, and on the machinery and livestock possessed. They show also the amount and value of crops grown during the current year. These data made it possible to form a preliminary judgment as to the farming achievements of the individual settlers.

In a field survey made during October and November of 1936, the writer obtained the necessary information concerning the development of the homesteaders. Working in cooperation with the local Reclamation Office, she ascertained which families of the 1927-28 group had sold out, which were still on the project, and which of these were operating or leasing. The office explained as fully as possible why certain families had gone. During a 6-weeks' stay on the project, about 70 families were interviewed in their homes. The family history prior to homesteading, accounts of their progress on and their attitude toward the project, and statements of their present net worth were obtained. Supplementary inquiries regarding the health of the family while homesteading, misfortunes such as fires or crop failures, schooling of children, and support of dependent relatives disclosed most of the expenses and losses incurred for these items. Facts relative to the value and quality of automobiles and houses were collected at the same time. By questioning the families information was also obtained concerning former neighbors who were no longer on the project, and their reasons for leaving.

It was hoped that the selection study would be able to draw extensively on a family-living survey undertaken at the same time on the Tule Lake Division by the Resettlement Administration and the United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, cooperating. Of the families covered by both surveys, however, only about 40 were identical. Insofar as the families coincided, the information on cars and houses obtained through the standard-of-living survey was used.

The visits of the writer, announced by letters from the county agent at Klamath Falls and further explained in the local newspaper, for the most part were very satisfactory. High spirits engendered by the extremely favorable economic situation on the project in 1936 aided in creating a generally friendly attitude toward the field investigator. Really valuable help was rendered by several farmers and their wives in exploring

the economic and psychological factors conditioning the development of the project.

In general, separate interviews with husband and wife were much more satisfactory than joint interviews. When they were together, each appeared reluctant to say anything of which the other might disapprove. Economic factors, usually, were discussed more thoroughly by the men. The psychological factors were far more clearly disclosed by the women. Nevertheless, most of the women displayed an intimate knowledge of, and an excellent memory for, details concerning the economic development of the family farm.

That the educational level of the persons on the project averaged very high is decidedly significant here. Many of the women, for instance, were former school teachers. In general, the quantity and quality of the information yielded was in direct relation to the educational level and the prosperity of the persons interviewed. Only when homesteaders were questioned about their former neighbors was the contrary true. Generally speaking, the better the moral fiber of a man, the more reserved he was on this point. But, after several farmers had been asked in turn about each man who had left or had become a habitual lessor, fairly complete material was gathered also on this subject.

Not all the families still operating their homesteads could be contacted. Some were away on trips; a few refused cooperation. On the other hand, several families were interviewed who, although they still lived on the project, no longer operated their homesteads.

At the end of the survey a committee was assembled for the purpose of re-rating all the members of the 1927-28 group on the basis of their accomplishments during the 9-year period. The committee consisted of an official from the Bureau of Reclamation, the county agent for Klamath County who had served on the original rating committee, the banker with whom most of the farmers dealt constantly, and two outstanding homesteaders, one of them the local agent for the Federal farm loans. Some ratings on sheepmen who were personally unknown to the committee members were obtained from a homesteader in charge of the local Stock Growers' Loan Association.

Each homesteader was to be rated separately for success, effort, and social standing in the community. It was decided that the ratings should be 1, 2, and 3, indicating "high," "average," or "low" grades respectively. The simple discontinuous ratings "1, 2, 3" were preferred to the finer ratings of a continuous rating scale because, aside from considerations as to the later statistical treatment of the data (see pp. 12-13), they were easier to obtain and at least as reliable, the committee members finding it easy to agree on one of them in all but a very few cases. Occasionally plus or minus signs were attached to the ratings

when the case required, or when opinions were divided. It was the writer's impression that the ratings were given in a spirit of fairness, and that they did represent to a large degree the agreement of opinion among the members of the committee. A check was provided in that the banker had given his ratings separately at a preliminary session. His judgment showed a marked agreement with that of the other committee members.

LIST I
INDIVIDUAL REASONS FOR SELLING THE HOMESTEAD
X - PRINCIPAL REASON
X - ONE REASON AMONG OTHERS

Case number	Service status	Years on project	Marital status at application time	No. worth at application time	Reasons																						
					No intention to stay	Homestead acquired for speculation	Poor land	Old age	Poor health - Man	Poor health - Wife	Dislike of country - Man	Dislike of country - Wife	Other farming interests	Other trade or professional interests	Lack of capital	Debt	No good farmer	No farming experience	No interest in farming	Lazy	Lack of education	Drinking	Gambling	Marital trouble	Bachelor	Wife dissatisfied	Other family reasons
1	C	2	M	\$6,375					XX							X											
2	V	1	S	8,352		XX											X										
3	V	5	M	5,055													X	X	X						XX		
4	C	6	M	2,612																							XX
5	C	8	M	4,871																							
6	C	3	S	6,150		XX							X														XX
7	C	8	M	5,200																					X		
8	C	2	M	2,680				X		XX																	
9	C	2	S	4,900													X	X ^{2/}									
10	V	5	M	3,300		X									XX												
11	V	5	M	12,200		X											X	X							X		
12	C	6	M	2,300		X															XX			X			
13	V	3	M	4,050		X															XX			X			
14	C	8	M	3,400			XX ^{1/}																				
15	C	7	S	4,950													X	XX ^{2/}									
16	C	2	M	4,650		XX ^{1/}	XX ^{2/}				X		X														
17	C	9	S	2,650	X	XX									X												
18	V	3	M	6,500		X																					
19	C	8	S	10,150																							XX
20	V	8	M	2,150		XX					X																XX
21	C	9	M	2,403		X				XX																	
22	C	9	M	2,813		XX																					
23	C	6	M	5,230																							
24	C	5	S	10,500													XX ^{2/}	X	XX						X		
25	C	5	M	2,550		X																					
26	C	8	S	20,400														X	XX		X			XX			
27	V	2	S	6,340																							
28	C	7	M	2,400		X																		XX			XX
29	V	3	M	5,800	X	X					X	X													XX ^{2/}		XX
30	V	2	M	5,500																							
31	V	2	S	4,200																							
32	V	6	M	5,500																					XX	XX ^{5/}	
33	C	7	M	10,235													XX	XX	X								
34	V	7	S	2,220																							
35	C	3	M	2,300		X																					XX
36	C	8	M	13,095		XX												X									
37	C	9	M	41,475																							
38	C	3	S	122,225																							
39	C	9	M	15,375																							
40	V	9	M	6,939		X																					
41	V	9	S	8,450																							
42	V	4	M	6,500																							XX ^{1/}
43	C	7	M	3,395																					XX		XX
44	V	2	M	6,673		X																					
45	C	7	M	3,350																							
46	V	2	M	7,165																							
47	V	3	S	3,250							X	X															
48	V	6	S	5,400																							
49	C	8	M	3,350														X	XX		X			X			
50	V	8	S	5,370		XX	X																				
51	V	8	M	3,551		X																					
52	V	9	M	6,922		X																					
53	V	7	M	3,647	X	X																					
54	C	7	S	20,000																							
55	V	8	M	3,125							XX																

1/ C - civilian; V - veteran.

2/ Steepman.

3/ Land alkali.

4/ Money from sale put in other farm owned simultaneously.

5/ Wife did not join husband on the project.

6/ Farming done in old country style.

7/ Wanted larger farm.

8/ Stock ranch.

LIST II
INDIVIDUAL REASONS FOR HABITUAL LEASING
XX - PRINCIPAL REASON
X - ONE REASON AMONG OTHERS

Case number	Service status 1/	Marital status at application time	Net worth at application time	Reasons																Other family reasons	Other reasons					
				No intention to stay	Homestead acquired for speculation	Poor land	Old age	Poor health - Man	Poor health - Wife	Dislike of country - Man	Dislike of country - Wife	Other farming interests	Other trade or professional interests	Lack of capital	Debts	No good farmer	No farming experience	No interest in farming	Lazy			Lack of education	Drinking	Gambling	Marital trouble	Bachelor
1	A	M	\$3,300									X											XX			Other reasons
2	C	Div.	4,100											X												Other family reasons
3	C	M	3,550					XX																		X
4	C	M	2,940				XX															XX/				
5	A	M	4,750										XX3/				X									
6	A	M	4,739					XX																X		
7	A	M	3,149											XX			X									X
8	A	S	5,000	XX									X						X				X			
9	A	M	6,190																		XX					
10	C	M	3,000			XX												X								
11	C	M	3,350											XX												
12	A	M	9,060	X	X								XX					X								
13	C	M	3,300			XX		X												X						
14	A	M	2,300																							
15	A	M	8,900	X										XX				X		X	XX	X				
16	A	S	2,080																							
17	A	M	8,700																	XX		X				

1/ C - civilian; V - veteran.
2/ Separated.
3/ Stock ranch.

LIST III
SOME INDICATORS OF FINANCIAL SUCCESS (NET WORTH 1927 OR 1929
AND 1936, RESIDENCES, CARS) OF 54 HOMESTEADERS
STILL OPERATING IN 1936

Case number	: Total : : initial : : rating :	Net worth		: Ratio of net : : worth 1936 : Value of resi- : : to net worth : dence dwelling : : 1927-23 : 1936 1/ : 1927-28 : October 1936 :		Year of : : purchase : : when new :	Car	
		1927-23	1936 1/	1927-28	October 1936		Value	Value
1	92.	\$2,950	\$47,532	16.11	\$200	1935	\$785	\$500
2	94.75	3,825	45,390	11.87	500	1935	1,048	700
3	96.5	7,200	59,870	8.32	2,500	1936	925	770
4	92.	2,403	17,660	7.35	2,000	1935	898	500
5	96.75	5,092	36,275	7.12	1,500	1936	900	800
6	96.125	4,250	28,958	6.81	3,500	1935	1,069	700
7	89.5	2,220	14,720	6.63	800	1935	745	600
8	86.5	2,230	14,575	6.54	15	-	-	-
9	95.99	3,395	21,475	6.33	3,000	-	-	-
10	81.5	3,200	18,380	5.74	4,000 2/	-	-	-
11	83.5	2,178	11,980	5.50	2,000	1933	190 3/	50
12	93.25	3,755	20,300	5.41	500	1935	1,052	900
13	87.	4,920	24,300	4.94	200	1934	800	350
14	96.	4,700	22,790	4.85	2,000	1936	800	700
15	85.	3,600	17,200	4.78	1,000	1935	1,000	700
16	95.2	5,323	24,912	4.68	4,000 2/	1936	1,050	700
17	99.	11,675	53,903	4.62	200	1935	4/	200
18	98.	6,670	28,675	4.30	7,500	1935	970	575
19	95.5	4,490	19,256	4.29	1,000	1935	900	600
20	82.5	2,553	10,544	4.13	5/	-	-	-
21	92.	5,750	23,400	4.07	2,500	1935	1,105	750
22	70.	2,200	8,555	3.89	750	1936	1,125	900
23	98.	7,580	28,550	3.77	125	1935	932	600
24	90.	6,700	25,250	3.77	5,000	1936	715	715
25	92.	2,870	10,075	3.51	500	1935	745	350
26	96.5	4,146	14,250	3.44	1,000	1936	850	600
27	83.	5,100	17,380	3.41	1,500	1935	885	600
28	95.	11,500	39,020	3.39	3,000	1930	2,100	200
29	95.125	4,250	14,175	3.34	150	1935	997	800
30	92.	3,338	11,165	3.34	50	1932	50 3/	40
31	88.	2,559	8,530	3.33	200	1936	880	600
32	80.	3,100	10,298	3.32	1,400	1936	1,015	900
33	99.	9,215	30,100	3.27	3,500	1934	1,000	700
34	96.56	14,025	43,775	3.12	3,500 6/	1935	1,000	600
35	96.	6,095	18,885	3.10	1,500	1935	986	650
36	95.	5,190	15,760	3.04	800	1935	810	600
37	92.25	3,500	10,635	3.04	400	1936	935	835
38	76.	2,200	6,625	3.01	700	1935	525 3/	400
39	92.	9,842	29,330	2.98	3,700	1936	1,000	850
40	99.	16,880	49,750	2.95	2,500 6/	1935	830	600
41	90.	6,939	18,420	2.65	500	-	-	-
42	95.75	4,695	11,140	2.37	400	-	-	-
43	90.	7,100	16,780	2.36	1,500	1936	1,059	1,000
44	98.	6,358	14,600	2.30	3,500	1935	660,	400
45	81.	2,300	5,199	2.26	2,000 2/	1936	900	800
46	90.25	2,656	5,425	2.04	500	1935	265 3/	150
47	88.7	5,525	10,710	1.94	300	1936	415 3/	400
48	90.	13,600	25,561	1.88	2,200	1936	926	900
49	98.	9,560	17,440	1.82	1,200	1935	1,155	500
50	96.	3,880	6,908	1.78	600	-	-	-
51	86.4	9,180	14,360	1.56	700 6/	-	-	-
52	90.	7,951	6,250	.79	3,000	1934	1,100	500
53	85.5	2,500	1,798	.72	100	1935	25 3/	25
54	93.	12,400	3,670	.30	1,500	1935	890	550

1/ Homesteaders' own estimates, adjusted for major inconsistencies as to value of land between estimates of neighbors.

2/ House under construction.

3/ Bought secondhand.

4/ No information.

5/ No separate residence.

6/ House on old home farm, not on homestead.

7-511
(October 1937)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

IRRIGATION PROJECT

(Name)

(State)

DIVISION

(Name)

FARM APPLICATION BLANK

I, _____
(Full name)

of _____
(Post office address)

hereby apply for one of the farm units described below:

NUMBER IN PRIORITY OF CHOICE	DESCRIPTION	AREA	IRRIGABLE AREA
1			
2			
3			

or any other available farm unit, in the event none of the above-described farm units are available.

In proof of my fitness and qualifications to undertake the development of a farm unit, I submit the answers to the following questions:

1. Are you qualified to make entry for public land under the homestead laws? _____

2. Have you a full homestead right? _____

3. Are you a citizen of the United States? _____

(a) Native Born? _____ (b) Naturalized? _____

(c) If not, have you declared your intention to become a citizen? _____

4. Do you claim a preference right as an ex-service man under joint resolution of January 21, 1922 (42 Stat., 358)? _____

NOTE.—If answer is "Yes," there should be attached an affidavit setting forth your military service, which shall state the time of service, the unit of which you were a member, the date on which you were honorably discharged, separated or transferred to the regular Army or Naval Reserve, and that you did not refuse to wear the uniform of such service or to perform the duties thereof. There shall be attached to the affidavit a copy of your honorable discharge or separation from the service or the order of transfer to the regular Army or Naval Reserve, as the case may be, which copy shall be certified by a notary public to be a true copy of the original.

5. Do you claim a preference right as the result of being a successful contestant of an existing entry? _____

NOTE.—If answer is "Yes," attach a statement of the contest claim, giving a description of the land by section, township, and range.

6. What is your present occupation? _____

7. What has been your occupation during the past five years? _____

8. What is your age?

9. How many years of farming experience have you had and how recently?

(a) Irrigation farming, stating whether fruit, dairy, etc.

(b) Dry farming

(c) Humid farming

(d) Have you had any experience in handling dairy cows or other livestock in connection with your farming experience?

10. What is your sex?

(a) Are you single? (b) Married? (c) If married man, what experience has your wife had in farm life?

(d) If married woman, are you the head of a family?; (e) Is your wife now willing to go on a farm?

11. What are the sex and age of your children?

12. Have you any other dependents? If so, give particulars

13. What is the condition of your health? That of your wife?

14. Do you own a farm at present?

(a) Where located?

(b) What value? \$.....; (c) Amount of incumbrance, \$.....

(d) What amount can you borrow upon it? \$.....

15. Give names and addresses of three citizens, who are not related to you, as references, who have known you for at least five (5) years:

NAME	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION
1
2
3

NOTE.—It is understood and agreed by the applicant that information furnished the United States, in writing or otherwise, by either or all of the above-named persons given as references, shall be held and treated by the person and by the United States as confidential, and the applicant, for himself and his successors and assigns, hereby waives any right which he might have or claim to have for damages or otherwise against any of the said persons on account of the information so furnished by them to the United States.

16. List your present assets in the following table:

DESCRIPTION	WHERE LOCATED	ESTIMATED VALUE
Cows.....
Horses.....
Sheep.....
Hogs.....
Other stock.....
Cash in hand.....
Cash in bank.....
* Securities, (stocks, bonds, etc.).....
Implements, (list kind and value).....
.....
.....
.....
.....
Furniture.....
Land (see paragraph 14 above).....
* Other assets, (list timberland, city property, etc.).....
.....
.....

Less Liabilities:	Total Assets.....	\$.....
†(a) Mortgages and/or notes.....	\$.....	
†(b) Other debts.....	\$.....	
Total Liabilities.....		\$.....
Net worth.....		\$.....

* If you have assets in the nature of "Securities" or "Other Assets, etc.," listed above you should attach a brief itemized statement of what these assets are and their market value.
† If mortgages or other debts exceed \$500 a statement should be attached showing the amount of the debts, when due, interest rates, and how you intend to pay same.

17. Have you personally examined the land applied for?

18. Have you ascertained the charges due on this land?

19. Remarks, including your reasons for desiring to farm:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

20. Would you accept any other available farm unit if not successful in obtaining one of your first three selections?

.....

Witness: (Signature of applicant)

..... (One witness required)

..... (Date), 19.....

..... (Address)

NOTE.—THIS PAGE IS NOT TO BE WRITTEN ON BY APPLICANT

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

IRRIGATION PROJECT

(Name)

(State)

DIVISION

(Name)

SOLDIER }
CIVILIAN }

REPORT ON FARM APPLICATION

Division, Project, Application No.

Date of application Date received

Date applicant appeared before board,

Applicant's name Address

RATING

Industry %

Farm experience %

Character %

Capital %

Total %

Initialed (in red ink) by Board members:

This application is {approved.
disapproved. Farm unit, containing

irrigable acres, is awarded to applicant at meeting of Board held at

State of on the day of, 19

(Secretary of Board)

Applicant notified of {approval
disapproval} on day of, 19 Water-rental

application received on day of, 19, accompanied by \$

Noted on water-rental application on day of, 19, and returned to applicant

on day of, 19

Homestead entry made day of, 19

7-514
(April 1937)

STATEMENT OF FARM APPLICANT'S QUALIFICATIONS

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

PROJECT

(The person to whom this form is sent is requested to answer as fully as possible all the questions hereon. Avoid any allusion to politics, religion, or fraternal orders. The completed form should be returned as promptly as possible to the official named on the back of this form in the inclosed "Penalty" envelope.)

STATEMENT OF PERSON NAMED AS REFERENCE

I hereby certify that I am more than 21 years of age; that my occupation is _____
_____ ; that for _____ years I have known _____
the applicant named hereon; and that the answers to the following questions with respect to him are
true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

1. What is the applicant's occupation? _____
2. What farming experience has he had? _____
3. Has he been successful as a farmer? _____
4. Is he industrious? _____ 5. Is the applicant, in your opinion, qualified to undertake the
development of a homestead on a Federal irrigation project? _____ 6. Is the applicant
responsible to the extent that he discharges his obligations promptly? _____
7. What is his general reputation and standing in the community in which he resides? _____
8. How have you obtained your knowledge of the applicant with respect to the information which you
have given in this certificate? _____
9. Are you related to the applicant? _____ If so, state relationship _____
10. Add any other facts relative to his fitness to undertake the development of a farm on a Federal
irrigation project _____

(Signature of reference) _____

(Post office address) _____

Date _____, 19____

